McCulloh, G. O.
AM 1934
mc
c.1

Boston University
College of Liberal Arts
Library

THE GIFT OF the Author

378.744
BO
AM 1934
mc
c.1

52089

BOSTON UNIVERSITY

GRADUATE SCHOOL

Thesis

THE NEW CHRISTOLOGY

by

Gerald Otho McCulloh

(A.B., Baker University, 1932)

submitted in partial fulfilment of the

requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

1934

52089

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter Page

INTRODUCTION 1

Reasons for Opening the Christological Question 4

I. BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTOLOGICAL SPECULATION 8

A. Biblical Sources 8
1. Connection with the Old Testament 8
2. Impression upon His Followers 9
3. Jesus' Evaluation of Himself 10
4. Jesus in the Pauline Writings 11

B. The First Century and the Apostolic Fathers 13
1. Earliest Speculative Christologies 15
2. Sources of These Christologies 15
3. Pneumatic Christology 16
4. Adoptianist Christology 17

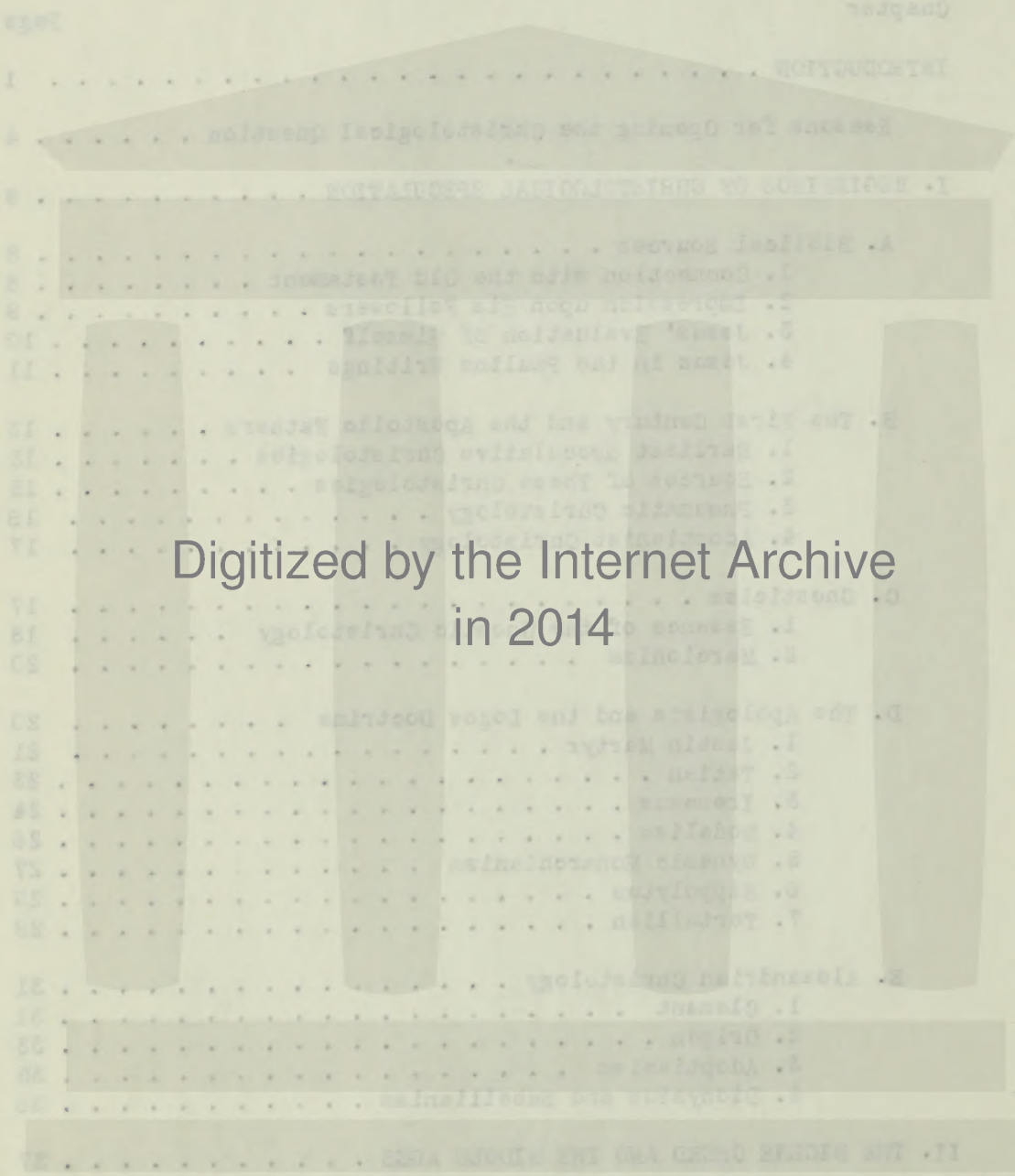
C. Gnosticism 17
1. Essence of the Gnostic Christology 18
2. Marcionism 20

D. The Apologists and the Logos Doctrine 20
1. Justin Martyr 21
2. Tatian 23
3. Irenaeus 24
4. Modalism 26
5. Dynamic Monarchianism 27
6. Hippolytus 29
7. Tertullian 29

E. Alexandrian Christology 31
1. Clement 31
2. Origen 33
3. Adoptianism 35
4. Dionysius and Sabellianism 36

II. THE NICENE CREED AND THE MIDDLE AGES 37

A. Athanasius and the Nicene Creed 37
1. The Arian Controversy 37
2. Athanasius 38



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2014

https://archive.org/details/thenewchristolog00mccu

3. "Son" Replaces "Logos" 40
4. The Nicene Creed 42
5. Apollinaris 43
6. Nestorius 44
7. Eutyches 44

B. The Chalcedonian Creed 45
1. The Antiochians 46
2. Monophysite Controversy 46
3. Monothelite Controversy 47
4. John of Damascus 47

C. Augustine and the West in the Middle Ages 48
1. Augustine 49
2. Effect of the Neo Platonic "Nous" 52
3. Spanish Christology 53
4. Anselm 54
5. Abelard 55
6. Bernard 55
7. Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus 55

III. LUTHER AND THE CHANGING CHRISTOLOGY 57

A. The Reformation Christology 57
1. Luther 58
2. Formula of Concord 58
3. Calvinism 59
4. Socinianism 60

B. Transition Christologies 61
1. Schleiermacher 63
2. Ritschl 66
3. Kenoticism 68
4. Dorner 72

IV. CURRENT EXPOSITIONS OF THE NEW CHRISTOLOGY 77

A. Changes Necessitating the New Christology 77

B. "The Fullness of Love" 79
1. Baillie 79
2. Jesus' Uniqueness 82

C. "The Indwelling Spirit" 84
1. Loofs 84
2. Jesus' Uniqueness 85

D. The Historical Jesus and the Christ of the Religious Imagination . . . 89
1. Mecklin 89
2. The Religious Imagination 90
3. Jesus in the Christ 91

E. "The Lord of Life" 94
1. Bartlett 94
2. Edwards 96
3. Christ's Divinity in Modern Terms 99

F. Jesus' Subliminal Self 100
1. Sanday 100
2. The Subconscious Self 101
3. Jesus Christ 102

G. "There Is One Mediator" 105
1. Lewis 105
2. Mediator between God and Man 107

H. "The Consciousness and Dependence Theory 110
1. Knudson 110
2. Divinity in the Divine Will 111

I. New Christology in Brief 115

CONCLUSION 118

SUMMARY 120

BIBLIOGRAPHY 127

THE NEW CHRISTOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

The idea of the absolute incarnation of God in Christ has stood at the heart of the Christian faith since it was so accepted by the early church a few centuries after His death.

That the incarnation was the application of the ideas of Christian theism to the person of Christ is a fact that has stood all the speculative and experiential testing which the succeeding centuries have brought upon it. It has served as the validating force behind the faith of many whose minds have had a bent to see problems in the light of the thought backgrounds of those problems. In fact, the idea of absolute incarnation is the only adequate religious conception of the person of Christ.[1]

Christ certainly thought of Himself as a son of God, but it is a question whether he thought of Himself as the Son of God. It appears rather that the conception of Christ as the Son of God has arisen through later interpretation. The Christ of Faith is then a theistic interpretation of the Jesus of History. "The theist has no difficulty in accepting the New Testament statement that 'God was in Christ' and in believing that Jesus stood

---

[1] Knudson, The Doctrine of Redemption, 291.

in a unique relation to God."[1]

Thinking in regard to the nature of this incarnation has not been as constant as the assertion of the fact however. The ages have experienced various theories as to the mode in which this relationship is to be conceived.

The Apologists attempted to bring forth a solution of this problem in the Logos doctrine. The Alexandrian thinkers find exemplification of their systems of thought in the Eternal Generation theory of Origen. In the Nicene Creed we find the 'Logos' conception replaced by the idea of 'Son.' The 'Two Nature Doctrine' reached its height in the expression of it which we find in the Chalcedonian Creed. This doctrine has served as one of the chief guide-posts to thought in regard to Christological matters to an almost unbelievable degree since it found expression in this masterpiece of religion and politics wrought out in 451. With the appearance of Augustine all trace of the subordination of the Son to the Father is removed and Christ stands as equal and one with the God of which He is part.

With no signal developments the doctrine as thus conceived stood until we find changes appearing at the time of the Reformation. At this time a definite advance in the doctrine of the Person of Christ is seen. From the Formula of Concord in 1577 it is but a short step to the 'Son of Man' Christology of Calvinism.

The spirit of the new age is upon men, however, and even

---

[1]Knudson, The Doctrine of Redemption, 310.

the theological thinking begins to show the effect of it. Men are not content with the sort of doctrine which cannot be subjected to scientific verification. They have come to regard only those ideas as valid which are brought to them through the means of the empirical approach. Mere speculative systems are not enough. It is in keeping with this spirit also that we find the transition from Platonism to personalism, and reality is seen to be having its effect upon men.

The transition age is one in which the thought systems are speculative, but their validity comes more and more to be judged according to pragmatic standards. Since personality is of value, then that which is of most value in Christ is a personality which actually produces a different sort of world through the action of His personality upon the men of all ages.

The New Christology then appears with its primary emphasis upon the manhood of its central figure. This manhood, however, is significant for every man. The feeling that there is an essential difference between the personality of God and Christ has diminished. Christ's personality became that of God in nature because of the extreme closeness and constancy of Christ relationship to God. Christ was primarily a man in whose life God had full range of guidance, and as a result he became for men the revelation of the nature and effulgence of God. The element of closeness and dependence is not a matter of agreement among the exponents of the New Christology.

Some have placed it in a subconscious area (Sanday), and others have placed it in the exemplification of certain of the attributes of God himself,as for example 'the fullness of love' (Baillie).

In whatever way it has been accomplished, the fact remains that Christ is the one Mediator between God and man. Furthermore a knowledge of our own age is enough to convince that Christ will mean more to the twentieth century mind when expressed in these terms than in terms of an eternally generated Logos, or when he is presented as a man in whom dwelt two natures, unconfused, yet indivisible.

The New Christology is the presentation of the man Jesus Christ in terms of an activistic philosophy of receptivity on the part of man.

Reasons for Opening the Christological Question

The greatest amount of speculation in this regard came during the years from the fourth to the seventh centuries. It was during this period that the very elaborate systems in regard to the nature of the God-man and the different elements in his make-up were evolved. After the close of the seventh century, however, we find very little being done in this field until the question was reopened, as has been suggested, about the time of the Reformation. The forces which led to the reopening of the question are two-fold. The first is this. Historical criticism, through reinvestigation of the

sources of the life of Jesus, has led to a new realization of his humanity. The second is the phase of modern philosophy which has as its result the better understanding of the subjective conditions of knowledge. This has served to discredit the uncritical ontology which lay at the basis of the older theories, and substituted for its purely transcendent God a God who is immanent.[1]

It is true that, "Modern thought concerning the person of Christ may be described as the effort, by means of a better philosophy, to do justice to the new facts concerning Jesus which historical criticism has brought to light...This change appears in the shifting of interest from the nature to the consciousness of Christ. The earthly life of Jesus is the point of departure from which all the modern theories take their departure."[2]

This has not always been the case, however, The entire nature of the speculative systems has changed. To understand the speculative and metaphysically grounded systems of the earlier ages we must look into the forces which led them to have a place and interest sufficient to justify the calling of great councils to settle doctrinal controversies.

One of the great factors determining the form that the Christian dogmatics should take was the world in which Christ made his appearance. It was a period in which a great revival, religiously and politically, was already in progress. Much is to be attributed

---

[1]Brown, CTO, 337.

[2]Ibid.

to Augustus, 30 B.C.--14 A.D., in this regard. The lines of nationalism were fast disappearing, and orders and classes were passing away.[1] The religions of the East were fast progressing into the West, and we find a great deal of unrest, and new horizons appearing before pious souls everywhere. Philosophy, too, which had enjoyed little or no place of importance in Rome up to the time of Cicero, was coming to the forefront for a share in the shaping of the policies of the world. A great religious syncretism ran parallel with this movement as seen in the adopting of some phases of the pantheons of the various nations which came as slaves and vassals to Rome. This is the role played by Christianity in the world of the first century. Christianity came to Rome as the religion of one of the conquered peoples, and as a result we find it keeping step with the progress, and finding itself affected by the influences of the world into which it came.

There was, however, in the history of Christianity a strange situation which affected its growth. Its founder passed very quickly out of the world. He stayed only a very few years; it was necessary, therefore, to recompense for this situation by building up around the memory of him a system of thought which has come to be known as Christology. There are other reasons, however, for the rapid growth of Christological systems. The following quotation shows why early Christology went beyond the theocratic ideas of Judaism. The Christians felt that the revelation of the Old Testament lay in

---

[1] Tixeront, HD, I, 19.

Jesus:

> His deeds, His Fate and subsequent victory were recognized as constituting a real and even a precise fulfillment of prophecy....The characteristic Christian faith in Jesus' exaltation to a place of supramundane and universal power impelled to reflection those who held it. Their sense of His Lordship concerned the present and it concerned the future....Thought was stimulated by the success of missionary enterprise....With ever-increasing vividness it became clear that Jesus was for the whole world. His significance was universal as the hunger for God and righteousness....Finally, the witness of Jesus to Himself could not but quicken thought regarding His consciousness of a unique Sonship and the presuppositions on which it rested.[1]

Thus we find the nature of the necessity out of which the speculative systems arose. Let us then look for a time into the theories which were evolved.

The approach through the avenue of history is the best which we can employ in coming to understand the theorizing which is characteristic of Christian thinkers in our own day. Only by knowing the sources and soils out of which our ideas have grown can we know their full significance.

---

[1] Mackintosh, DPJC, 3-4.

CHAPTER I

BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTOLOGICAL SPECULATION

Biblical Sources

The earliest trace of the dogmatics in regard to Jesus was his connection with the Old Testament and the manner in which he stood as the fulfillment of prophecy. The Kingdom of God which He came to establish, and which stood as the center of his preaching, is described as the fulfillment of the promises given to the nation, and Jesus Christ himself as the Messiah whom the nation expected. By doing so Jesus' message and person secured a place in the system of the religious ideas and hopes, which by means of the Old Testament were current in the Jewish nation.[1] We have often held the mistaken conception that Christ, to have been the Messiah of the Jews, must have been looked upon as God. This is shown, however, to be an erroneous idea when we look at some of the conceptions of the Messiah as they stood in prophecy, chiefly in the Apocryphal books.

Connection with Old Testament

The Messiah was a great king, it is true, but we have thought wrongly in this connection. "His greatness never goes beyond the greatness of a created being; it reaches at most that of a supernatural being, never Divine greatness. The Jews never dreamt of

---

[1] Harnack, HD, I, 40.

a Messian who was God."[1] In the Fourth Book of Esdras[2] the Messiah is represented as dying a natural death as one whose work is finished.

That there should arise in regard to him such a strong belief in His Messiahship comes partly as a result of the manner in which His disciples and followers looked upon the Old Testament source. The proof that the entire Old Testament points to Him and that His Person, His deeds and His destiny are the actual and precise fulfillment of the Old Testament predictions, was the foremost interest of the early Christians in so far as they at all looked backwards.[3]

The origin of the doctrine that Christ was the Messiah came out of the direct impression that Jesus made upon his followers. The Messiah was no longer an unknown being but was Jesus of Nazareth. Jesus, however, declared himself to be the Messiah.[4] Those about him saw that his life validated his claim, but his declaration also strengthened their belief through the observation of his self-consciousness;

Impression upon His Followers

> He declared Himself to be the Messiah and in so doing gave an intelligible expression to his abiding significance for them and for his people. In a solemn hour at the close of His life (the Last Supper), as well as on special occasions at an earlier period, he referred to the fact that the surrender to His person which induced them to leave all and follow him was no passing element in the new position which they had gained towards the Father. He tells them on the contrary that this surrender corresponds to the service which he will perform for them and for the many, when

---

[1] Tixeront, HD, I, 40.
[2] 7.29.
[3] Harnack, HD, I, 81.
[4] Ibid., 42.

> he will give his life a sacrifice for the sins of the world....By so doing he put himself far above all others although they were to become his brethren; and claimed a unique and permanent importance as redeemer and judge. This permanent importance as the Lord he secured, not by disclosures about the mystery of his person, but by the impression of his life and the interpretation of his death.[1]

Jesus' personal teaching in regard to himself differs somewhat in the various accounts which have come to us. The Synoptics present a Jesus whose sole interest is the Kingdom of God. To this cause all his preaching is directed.[2] There should be no mistake, however, in thinking that Jesus had political ideas in regard to this Kingdom. It was to be entirely heavenly with no thought of earthly dominion such as lay in the minds of his contemporaries.[3] Christ very definitely teaches that his followers are to render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and to God the things that are God's.[4] Christ opposed his Kingdom also to the kingdom of Satan, and he spoke of demons and angels in the common parlance of the day. The Synoptics account presents Jesus as establishing a religion based upon the belief in Himself; that is, His followers received the validation of their faith by looking to Him, the historical Jesus.[5]

Jesus' Evaluation of Himself

When we come to the Johannine presentation of Christ we find an almost wholly different idea. In the Synoptics Christ never declares himself to be the Son of God, although he does allow the title to be used in regard to Him. John puts in the mouth of Jesus,

---

[1] Harnack, HD, I, 60.
[2] Tixeront, HD, I, 60.
[3] Ibid., 60.
[4] Mt. 22.15-22; Mk 12:13-17; Lk. 20:21-26.
[5] Harnack, HD, I, 60.

however, the words and the statement that he is the Son of God (5:28; 9:35). The book of the Gospel according to St. John, in fact, begins with a passage given to speculative propositions in regard to Christ. He is presented as the Logos of God.

Still another point of view is found in the Pauline writings. St. Paul was faced with the necessity of presenting a logical reason for the faith that was in him. This, since his experience had been purely spiritual in relation to Christ, must find its basis in some sort of spiritual interpretation if it were to maintain its inner logic. "Confronted by the Messiah's death on the cross, an event, as he felt, laden with the Divine Redemptive purpose, St. Paul, yielding to a strictly intellectual compulsion, gave up the theological system of Judaism and replaced it by one in which Christ appeared as a synthesis of historical tradition and the Hellenistic doctrines of a pre-existent 'Heavenly Man.'"[1]

Jesus in the Pauline Writings

While all these points of view are presented in the New Testament account of the person and work of Jesus, yet it is still our task to interpret Jesus' own teaching in regard to himself. When we attempt to do so we find that there is very little in the actual teaching of Jesus which would indicate that he had anything to say in regard to his Divine relationship to the Father. He does point out the fact that he is unique; but his uniqueness, in his mind, rests on things more valuable to mankind than a God-head relationship to

---

[1] Mackintosh, DPJC, 50.

to the Father. Harnack says: "Jesus Christ has by no express statement thrown the connection of his Gospel with his person into the foreground. No words could have certified it unless his life, the overpowering impression of his person, had created it."[1]

Ritschl thinks in this regard that trying to see anything of this sort of teaching in Christ's words is a futile attempt. "Least of all can we discover in Christ's own words a doctrine of his Godhead. There, indeed, it is not to be expected. For the thought of Christ's Godhead is never other than the expression of that unique acknowledgment and appreciation which the Christian community yields to its founder."[2]

This does not say that Christ's place as Son of God, for our thinking, is less secure. On the contrary he becomes valid in our thinking, and lives by the true criterion of greatness, his life among men. "In preaching this Gospel Jesus Christ draws all men unto himself. In him the Gospel is word and deed; it has become his food, and therefore his personal life, and unto this life he draws all others....He is the Son who knows the Father. In him men perceive the kindness of the Lord; in him men are to feel God's power and government of the world."[3]

Christ's living and acting and speaking from the rules of his life in close connection with the Father are those things which have led men to look upon him as the revelation of the Father of whom they had before heard, but whom they had not before known.

---

[1]Harnack, HD, I, 59.

[2]Ritschl, JR, 400.

[3]Harnack, HD, I, 58-59.

We have acknowledged, however, that Jesus did recognize his uniqueness. In this regard we can view two distinct aspects of his own ideas. The first is his character, the consciousness of a unique Godliness. "Our gospels present us with a character of unexampled beauty and simplicity, brotherly in its relation toward men, uncompromising in its opposition to meanness, injustice, and hypocrisy. At the same time this character is rooted in a consciousness of a unique relation to God. The Jesus of the Gospels knows that he has come forth from God."[1] The principles by which his life and character are governed are from God, and as such his purpose, will, and program are those of God. Christ there is Son of God in truth.

The First Century and the Apostolic Fathers' Christologies

When we step from a study of Christ's teaching about himself to a view of the teaching of those from whom he took his departure we see somewhat of a change. Christ had taught a Gospel of the Kingdom. "But to the primitive Christian societies the Gospel came (through the apostles and other teachers) as primarily a Gospel of Christ, that is, good news about God resting on and revolving about an historic person."[2] It is for this reason we find an early emphasis on speculation in regard to the nature of the person who was the originator of the new faith. The confession of the people from whom he had departed was that 'Jesus is the Christ.' The

---

[1] Brown, CTO, 329.

[2] Mackintosh, DPJC, 123.

Kingdom which he had announced had not appeared so they had nothing tangible. The image which they retained in their minds, and the power which had proceeded from his life were all that they possessed. "As there was actually nothing possessed but the reality of the Person of Jesus, so in preaching all stress must necessarily fall on his Person."[1] It was natural then that some sort of logic should arise in regard to the Person upon whom all their faith depended.

Mention has been made of the sort of world into which Christianity came, but it will be well to look for a moment into the affect which it had upon the building of a Christological system, and the way it contributed to its sources. There were two chief sources determining the nature of the Christology which arose. The first was that which we have been discussing, the historical. Jesus' life, his character, his teachings, and the impression which he had left among his immediate disciples would naturally have a great deal to do with determining their thought systems in regard to his nature. There was another very important influence, however, and this was the philosophical interest of the world at the time. "The philosophical sources are the conceptions derived from contemporary thought through which Christians have endeavored to make clear to themselves and to others the significance of his person and work. Chief of these is the Logos conception, coming in from Greece."[2] This will be traced more fully later, but its inception should be understood to find its place here.

---

[1]Harnack, HD, I, 80.
[2]Brown, CTO, 327.

In the Apostolic age we find two very definitely distinguishable Christologies, the Pneumatic and the Adoptianistic in its earliest form.

Earliest Speculative Christologies

The teachings upon which these speculations are based are preserved for us in the writings which are known as the Apostolic Fathers. This series of writings are those which are thought to have been written between the First Epistle of St. Clement (93-97 A.D.) and the last, the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles (some date as late as 160 A.D.).[1] The sources from which the material in these documents has been drawn are the Old Testament and the words of Jesus. The authority of the two are placed on an equality. St. Ignatius especially places the words of Jesus and the Gospel on the same plane with the Prophets. (See Smyrna, 7:2; Phila., 8:2).[2]

Sources of These Christologies

Harnack says of the period of the Apostolic Fathers: "Jesus was either regarded as the man whom God had chosen, in whom the Deity or the Spirit of God dwelt, and who, after being tested, was adopted by God and invested with dominion (Adoptianist Christology), or Jesus was regarded as a heavenly, spiritual being, (the highest after God) who took flesh, and again returned to heaven after the completion of his work on earth (Pneumatic Christology)."[3] The first of these, the Adoptianist Christology, is that which is preserved for us only in

---

[1] Tixeront, HD, I, 105.
[2] Ibid., 105.
[3] Harnack, HD, I, 190.

the Shepherd of Hermas. "Jesus is, for Hermas, a mere man in whom the Holy Ghost has dwelt."[1] The Pneumatic Christology finds more of the books in its favor. An exposition of this point of view is preserved in some of the New Testament writings as well as the Apostolic Fathers. Traces of it are distinguishable in Paul, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the writings of John, Barnabas, I and II Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp.[2]

Traces had not as yet appeared of the two-nature doctrine which was to come later in regard to the originator of the faith that was theirs. The divine dignity was conceived as a gift imparted to this individual, or else the human nature was looked upon as a veil for the time, as a sort of metamorphosis of the Spirit. The two doctrines were never confused in the minds of the people of the time. They never conceived of a combination in which both could have been possible.

The pneumatic Christology affirmed that "The Son of God was that pneumatic being who was derived only from the miraculous generation in the flesh. This is a mere naive docetism."[3] This must be thought of as the interpretation which could most easily be traced from the Old Testament conception. The spiritual emphasis there and the faith in the ability of Yahweh to work miracles are traceable in this conception of the nature of Christ.

Pneumatic Christology

---

[1] Tixeront, HD, I, 116.
[2] Harnack, HD, I, 190.
[3] Ibid., 194.

the Shepherd of Hermas. "Jesus is, for Hermas, a more man in whom the Holy Ghost has dwelt."[1] The Pneumatic Christology finds more of the books in its favor. An exposition of this point of view is preserved in some of the New Testament writings as well as the Apostolic Fathers. Traces of it are distinguishable in Paul, the Epistle to the Hebrews, the writings of John, Barnabas, I and II Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp.[2]

Traces had not as yet appeared of the two-nature doctrine which was to come later in regard to the originator of the faith that was theirs. The divine dignity was conceived as a gift imparted to this individual, or else the human nature was looked upon as a veil for the time, as a sort of metamorphosis of the Spirit. The two doctrines were never confused in the minds of the people of the time. They never conceived of a combination in which both could have been possible.

The pneumatic Christology affirmed that "The Son of God was that pneumatic being who was derived only from the miraculous generation in the flesh. This is a mere naive

Pneumatic Christology

donetism."[3] This must be thought of as the interpretation which could most easily be traced from the Old Testament conception. The spiritual emphasis there and the faith in the ability of Yahweh to work miracles are traceable in this conception of the nature of Christ.

---

[1] Pfleiderer, HD, I, 116.
[2] Harnack, HD, I, 190.
[3] Ibid., 194.

According to the Adoptianist conception the man Jesus became a God when the pre-existent Son of God, the Spirit of God, was implanted in him. This will be seen to bear a certain significance for the later conception of the place of Christ as an achievement. If Christ were born with a gift there would never have come a possibility for the point of view that a man's efforts in his own behalf are in some measure efficacious.

Adoptianist Christology

One of the important phases in the thought of Christ's followers at this time was the fact that He should soon return. They saw that the work which He had started was not completed, and hence it would seem to require a time in which to be carried to perfection. His work they conceived as reaching its conclusion in His return. This was altogether unique to Jesus and to Christian belief because there was nothing in the Old Testament in regard to a second advent of the Messiah.

With the close of the period of the Apostolic Fathers we step into the midst of the second century. In this period there are appearances of the earliest departures from doctrine which came to be regarded as heresies.

Gnosticism

The first of these with which we shall deal is that of Gnosticism. This developed as an attitude in harmony with which to view all the questions of life rather than any special outline of

beliefs. Upon this basis it has been spoken of as "an atmosphere rather than a system."[1] According to its thinking redemption lay rather in the achieving of complete knowledge than through any sort of retributive system, or prescription of works, or mode for man's salvation.

There was worked out a very elaborate system of thought, however, in regard to the nature of higher things in accordance with the nature of revealed truth. Most commonly the unity of Christ with Jesus was conceived as extending from the baptism to the cry of Jesus on the Cross, "Into thy hands I commend my spirit." Be that as it may, Christ was sought behind the personality of Jesus rather than in it.

Since redemption and a spiritual perfection lay in the perfection of the knowledge and understanding of truth, Christ takes his place in their thought as the revealer of truth.

Essence of Gnostic Christology

"The revealer is Christ, but Christ alone, and only in his historical appearance. There is no Old Testament Christ; this appearance is itself redemption."[2] "His person, His teaching, His career were recognized as an in-breaking of supreme remedial energies from above."[3]

There were three distinct types of Gnosticism which were current. The first was that of Basilides who saw no real union between Christ and Jesus whom they regarded as an earthly man.[4] He taught that Simon the Cyrene was crucified in

Types of Gnosticism

---

[1] Mackintosh, DPJC, 134.
[2] Harnack, HD, I, 253.
[3] Mackintosh, DPJC, 135.
[4] Harnack, HD, I, 258.

beliefs. Upon this basis it has been spoken of as "an atmosphere rather than a system."[1] According to its thinking redemption lay rather in the achieving of complete knowledge than through any sort of retributive system, or prescription of works, or mode for man's salvation.

There was worked out a very elaborate system of thought, however, in regard to the nature of higher things in accordance with the nature of revealed truth. Most commonly the unity of Christ with Jesus was conceived as extending from the baptism to the cry of Jesus on the Cross, "Into thy hands I commend my spirit." Be that as it may, Christ was sought behind the personality of Jesus rather than in it.

Since redemption and a spiritual perfection lay in the perfection of the knowledge and understanding of truth, Christ takes his place in their thought as the revealer of truth.

Essence of Gnostic Christology

"The revealer is Christ, but Christ alone, and only in his historical appearance. There is no Old Testament Christ; this appearance is itself redemption."[2] "His person, His teaching, His career were recognized as an in-breaking of supreme remedial energies from above."[3]

There were three distinct types of Gnosticism which were current. The first was that of Basilides who saw no real union between Christ and Jesus whom they regarded as an earthly man.[4] He taught that Simon the Cyrene was crucified in

Types of Gnosticism

---

[1] Mackintosh, DPJC, 134.
[2] Harnack, HD, I, 256.
[3] Mackintosh, DPJC, 135.
[4] Harnack, HD, I, 258.

Jesus' room and in this way was able to account for Jesus continued work on earth.[1] Valentinus taught that the body of Jesus was a heavenly psychical formation, and sprung from the womb of Mary only in appearance.[2] It was according to this view that Christ was regarded as an Aeon coming out of the Pleroma, his position being that of the Demiurge, second only to God. Saturnis, in a kind of Docetism, declared that the whole visible appearance of Christ was a phantom, and therefore he denied the birth of Christ.[3]

All these systems may be criticised, and their inconsistencies pointed out. However, this remains true: in spite of their ambiguity, which proved to make them unfit for a substitute for the faith upon which the history of Christianity has hung, and out of which into the minds of men has come a picture of God as He stands through the ages, yet it is true that the Gnostics did waken the Church to more strenuous reflection on her points of certainty. The Church could no longer rest wholly on the bare assertion of historic facts.

Marcion, who showed some traces of the Gnostic Christology, is rather to be remembered for his extreme Docetism. Christ was a manifestation of God come down from heaven, a phantasmal body upon the saving spirit, who began to preach this manifestation in the synagogue in Capernaum. In this way, by rejecting any birth of Christ by woman, he showed his utter abhorrence of the

Marcionism

---

[1] Mackintosh, DPJC, 135.
[2] Harnack, HD, I, 258.
[3] Ibid., 258.

world. "This aversion may have sprung from the severe attitude of the early Christians toward the world, but the inference which Marcion draws shows that his feeling in this case was united with the Greek estimate of Spirit and matter."[1] The remarkable thing in this regard is that Marcion can attach such strong Docetistic beliefs to the advent of Christ and yet let him die upon the Cross.[2] In fact, one of the strongest points in his preaching is the stress laid upon the meaning of the Cross. It was this contradiction that his later disciples labored to remove, and the fundamental weakness of the system denying it credence by the Church, but "He succeeded in placing the greatest element of the uniqueness of redemption through Christ in the clearest light in beholding this redemption in the person of Christ, and chiefly in his death upon the cross."[3] Thus, if the church did refuse to accept the entire system, we find that all such flight of ideas as this served to formulate the ideas of the Church in their development. The orthodox belief stressed the Cross's significance more adequately because of the necessity laid upon it by the intrinsic value of this conception as brought out in the confines of heretical belief.

Apologists and the Logos Doctrine

The group of writers and thinkers which next take up the cause of the Church and Christian belief are the Apologists. In this

---

[1]Harnack, HD, I, 275.
[2]Mackintosh, DPJC, 136.
[3]Harnack, HD, I, 276.

world. "This aversion may have sprung from the severe attitude of the early Christians toward the world, but the inference which Marcion draws shows that his feeling in this case was united with the Greek estimate of Spirit and matter."[1] The remarkable thing in this regard is that Marcion can attach such strong Docetistic beliefs to the advent of Christ and yet let him die upon the Cross.[2] In fact, one of the strongest points in his preaching is the stress laid upon the meaning of the Cross. It was this contradiction that his later disciples labored to remove, and the fundamental weakness of the system denying it [illegible] by the Church, but "He succeeded in placing the greatest element of the uniqueness of redemption through Christ in the clearest light in beholding this redemption in the person of Christ, and chiefly in his death upon the cross."[3] Thus, if the church did refuse to accept the entire system, we find that all such flight of ideas as this served to formulate the ideas of the Church in their development. The orthodox belief stressed the Cross's significance more adequately because of the necessity laid upon it by the intrinsic value of this conception as brought out in the confines of heretical belief.

Apologists and the Logos Doctrine

The group of writers and thinkers which next take up the cause of the Church and Christian belief are the Apologists. In this

---

[1] Harnack, HD, I, 275.
[2] Mackintosh, DPJC, 156.
[3] Harnack, HD, I, 276.

connection it is interesting to note the effect which the Gnostics had upon the work in the ensuing years. The great task of the Apologists, and the problem which they solved was "the task of showing that Christianity was the perfect and certain philosophy because it rested upon revelation, and that it was the highest scientific knowledge of God and the world."[1] It was in an attempt to give a logical interpretation of the Christian message in such a way that it would be convincing to the philosophically minded as well appeal to the apocalypticist that the doctrine of the divine Logos was developed more highly in this period. In the doctrinal struggle against heresy and heathenism which ensues we find the beginnings of a speculative Christology.

The first of this group of defenders of the orthodoxy of the new faith whom we shall discuss here is Justin Martyr. By him and his group Christianity is presented as it had been established on these principles: "The unity of God, the future life, the moral law and its sanction beyond the grave; thus presented Christianity assumes the appearance of a most lofty human wisdom, of a most refined religion."[2] Justin is the one of the Apologists, however, who gives a significant treatment of the Incarnation. In the thought systems of the others of these men, the problem is a matter of more or less incidental notice.[3]

Justin Martyr

That Christ was viewed as wisdom, an effect of the influence

---

[1] Harnack, HD, II, 8.
[2] Tixeront, HD, I, 205.
[3] Mackintosh, DPJC, 141.

connection it is interesting to note the effect which the Gnostics had upon the work in the ensuing years. The great task of the Apologists, and the problem which they solved was "the task of showing that Christianity was the perfect and certain philosophy because it rested upon revelation, and that it was the highest scientific knowledge of God and the world."[1] It was in an attempt to give a logical interpretation of the Christian message in such a way that it would be convincing to the philosophically minded as well appeal to the apocalypticist that the doctrine of the divine Logos was developed more highly in this period. In the doctrinal struggle against heresy and Hoathenism which ensues we find the beginnings of a speculative Christology.

The first of this group of defenders of the orthodoxy of the new faith whom we shall discuss here is Justin Martyr. By him and his group Christianity is presented as it had been established

Justin Martyr

on these principles: "The unity of God, the future life, the moral law and its sanction beyond the grave; thus presented Christianity assumes the appearance of a most lofty human wisdom, of a most refined religion."[2] Justin is the one of the Apologists, however, who gives a significant treatment of the Incarnation. In the thought systems of the others of these men, the problem is a matter of more or less incidental notice.[3]

That Christ was viewed as wisdom, an effect of the influence

---

[1] Harnack, HD, II, 8.
[2] Tixeront, HD, I, 200.
[3] Mackintosh, DPJC, 141.

of the Gnostics, is seen in this quotation from Justin: "But this teacher (Christ) was reason itself; it was visible in Him, and indeed it appeared bodily in Him."[1] Furthermore, in the same sentence in which Christ is represented as the Socrates of the Barbarians he propounds the unheard-of theory that the "Teacher Christ is the incarnate reason of God."[2]

He found in Christ both God and Man. It was with Justin that the pre-existent and pre-Incarnate which is designated as Christ, came down as the Logos, in the manner of a spirit from heaven and made himself one with the flesh conceived of Mary.[3] The philosophy, then, of this new Socrates of the Barbarians is therefore seen to be genuine because it is guided by the Logos tou theou.[4]

The humanity of Jesus was conceived as complete, however, because Justin always portrayed Jesus as growing up as other men did in his country. The particular factor of his nature which made Him what he was came as a product of the indwelling Logos.[5] In this particular he was closely enough identified with other men to make his example significant for them. In fact the seed of the Logos (sperma tou theou emputon) is implanted by nature in every man.[6] The distinction is maintained, however, by the fact that "The whole Logos appeared only in Christ and that the manner of this appearance has no counterpart in the past."[7]

The Christ whom he portrayed was one who had the advantages

---

[1] Justin, Apologia, 1.5, quoted in Harnack, HD, II, 181.
[2] Apologia, 1.14.
[3] Mackintosh, DPJC, 142.
[4] Harnack, HD, II, 183.
[5] Mackintosh, DPJC, 142.
[6] Apologia, II.8.
[7] Harnack, HD, II, 220.

attendent upon the possession of the Logos, without losing his uniqueness and significance for men. "He attempted to combine the historical statements regarding Christ with the philosophical and moral doctrines of salvation and to conceive of Jesus as Redeemer."[1]

In connection with this view we come to one of the important points of Tatian. For him as well as for Justin God had drawn his Creation out of nothing, not directly, but by the agency Tatian of His Word. Thus this Word who had a part in the creation of the world was also the revealer and redeemer of the New Covenant.[2]

In this capacity Christ served chiefly in the capacity of an agent of revelation. This is especially true in the light of the frequence with which the expression "Word of God" appears in all the writings of this group of defenders. We find both Tatian and Theophilis attempting to show the superiority of Christian thinking by contrasting it to the philosophy of the day. "The religious and moral culture of the Greeks was derived from their poets (historians) and philosophers. In contrast to this the Christians had the advantage of revelational validation."[3]

In this connection also we find Athenagoras, whose chief point of view was that only by revelation could complete knowledge come. To trust everything to reason as the philosophers were doing was not sufficient.[4]

The next one of the Apologists for consideration is

---

[1] Dialogue Cum Trypho, 100.
[2] Tatian, 5.
[3] Harnack, HD, II, 195.
[4] Ibid., 189.

Irenaeus, who was bishop of Lyons at the time of his death at or about 200 A.D. His great work, Adversus Haereses, was written in 185. It was noted above that Justin, and perhaps also Tertullian, was more highly concerned with the matter of the nature of Christ and the Godhead than his contemporaries. It was characteristic of Irenaeus, therefore, that he chose the middle ground when dealing with matters of Christian thinking and steered clear of the accusation of being too bold in speculation.[1] He felt that no one knew the manner in which the Son came forth from the Father, and hence it was unwise to deal extensively in speculation in this reagrd. He viewed the Son as Logos, revealing the Father in the world. "Through the Word Himself, who had become visible and palpable, was the Father shown forth; all saw the Father in the Son: for the Father is the invisible of the Son, but the Son is the visible of the Father."[2]

Irenaeus takes his departure, not from the cosmic Logos, but from the Historic Jesus, the God-man. "Jesus is the Son of God, and as such is the agent of redemption, the recapitulation of the creation. Most of the Apologists have a cosmological interest, Marcion and the Valentinians a soteriological, whereas Irenaeus has both. [Further than this we know little because] Irenaeus expressly refused to investigate what the Divine element in Christ was and why another deity stands alongside of the Godhead of the Father."[3] "Filius dei filius hominis factus"; it is one and the same Jesus Christ, not a Jesus and a Christ, nor a mere temporary union of an

---

[1] Mackintosh, DPJC, 144.
[2] ADV HER, lv:6,6.
[3] Harnack, HD, II, 263.

aeon and a man, but one and the same person, who created the world, was born, suffered and ascended.[1] "Verbum dei, per quem facta sunt omnia, qui est dominus noster Jesus Christus."[2] Jesus Christ was "vere homo, vere deus" (ADV HER iv, 6,7), and as such was really Word of God. "That he was the Word of God, that he became man, and that this Word was an inseparable unity is the doctrine of the Person of Jesus Christ in Irenaeus."[3] "Commixtio et communio dei et hominis."[4]

Irenaeus sees the revelational value of Christ also for we find him saying: "We can truly know God only through the revelation He makes of himself, and now He has revealed himself to us through his Word."[5] Here in Irenaeus also we find the first hint of the point of view we shall see more fully a little later, the doctrine of eternal generation.[6] The special function of the Son, coexistent (ADV. HER., II, 30,9) and eternally generated, is therefore not creation, but to reveal the Father. "Invisible et enim Filii Pater, visible autem Patris Filius."[7]

This brings out of the very significant points in Irenaeus one which stands out, that is, his modalistic point of view. The Father is the invisible of the Son who is really the visible appearance of the Father. It is easily seen that it is but a short step to the complete Modalism of Sabellius. This led to what Harnack regards as the most dangerous opponent of the Logos Christology in the period 180-300 A.C. "It was this doctrine which saw the deity himself

---

[1]ADV HER, III, 9,3.
[2]ADV HER, III, 8,2.
[3]Harnack, HD, II, 275.
[4]ADV. HER., IV, 20,4.
[5]ADV HER, IV, 6, 4-5.
[6]Tixeront, HD, I, 233.
[7]ADV. HER., IV, 6,6.

incarnate in Christ, and conceived Christ to be God in human body, the Father become Flesh."[1] It was this same doctrine which came to be known as Patripassianism in the West. The more extreme forms were opposed by such figures as Tertullian, Novatian, Origen, and Hippolytus. At this time the system of thought was known as Modalistic Monarchianism. Sabellius, after whom the school of thought came to be called after the close of the third century, taught that God was not at the same time Father and Son. "He had rather put forth his activity in three successive energies; first in the Prosopon of the Father as the creator and the lawgiver; secondly in the Prosopon of the Son as redeemer, beginning with the incarnation and ending with the ascension; and finally up until the present hour, in the Prosopon of the Spirit as giver and sustainer of life."[2]

There are, however, certain advantages to the Modalistic teaching. It did avoid the dangers incurred in the direction of ditheism, toward which the Father and Son idea pointed. Furthermore, it maintained the complete divinity of Christ. The doctrine of the two natures had made little advance as yet and there was danger of making Christ a sort of duality of Man and deity. Furthermore, it did serve to prevent the attacks of the Gnostics which were still appearing, because there was no claim to the knowledge of an intricate system in this contention. The fundamental danger, however, was that the doctrine, followed to its ultimate, would lead to a pantheism, from whose hold escape would be

Modalism

[1]Harnack, HD, III, 51.
[2]Ibid., III, 85.

incarnate in Christ, and conceived Christ to be God in human body, the Father become Flesh."[1] It was this same doctrine which came to be known as Patripassianism in the West. The more extreme forms were opposed by such figures as Tertullian, Novatian, Origen, and Hippolytus. At this time the system of thought was known as Modalistic Monarchianism. Sabellius, after whom the school of thought came to be called after the close of the third century, taught that God was not at the same time Father and Son. "He had rather put forth his activity in three successive energies; first in the Prosopon of the Father as the creator and the lawgiver; secondly in the Prosopon of the Son as redeemer, beginning with the incarnation and ending with the ascension; and finally up until the present hour, in the Prosopon of the Spirit as giver and sustainer of life."[2]

There are, however, certain advantages to the Modalistic teaching. It did avoid the dangers incurred in the direction of dithsism, toward which the Father and Son idea pointed. Furthermore, it maintained the complete divinity of Christ. The doctrine of the two natures had made little advance as yet and there was danger of making Christ a sort of duality of man and deity. Furthermore, it did serve to prevent the attacks of the gnostics which were still appearing, because there was no claim to the knowledge of an intricate system in this contention. The fundamental danger, however, was that the doctrine, followed to its ultimate, would lead to a pantheism, from whose hold escape would be

[1] Harnack, MD, III, 51.
[2] Ibid., III, 85.

difficult. It is interesting to note here that this point of view furnishes the ground in which the theories of Kenosis, many years later, are to find root. Kenosis is a somewhat specialized form of modalism, when looked at from the historical point of view.

Another point of extreme interest in Irenaeus is the early view he brings of Dynamic Monarchianism, known also as Adoptianism. In writing in regard to immortality, Irenaeus points out that there is only one way that this life eternal can come to man. The physical condition of immortality could only be obtained for man by the possessor of this immortality uniting himself realiter with human nature in order to deify it by adoption (per adoptionem). The deity must become what we are in order that we may become what he is.[1]

Dynamic Monarchianism

In its completeness this appeared sometime later in the West, but in the East it made its appearance at the end of the second century. Theodotus, a wealthy currier of Byzantium, evolved the idea in full in order to relieve his mind for having denied Christ during a period of persecution. His conclusion was that Christ was only a man who had been adopted by God, and hence he had denied not God but the man Jesus.

Epiphanius and Philastrius, two of the exponents of the theory, came to be known as the 'Alogia' because of the opposition between their point of view and the doctrine of the Logos. Against their position, and in defense of the Logos doctrine, we find

---

[1] ADV HER, III, 6,11.

Hippolytus to be one of the most prolific writers.

The doctrinal teaching of this group is that Christ, identified with the Holy Spirit, is seen to have descended upon Jesus. He did not make Jesus God but endued him with the powers of God in his earthly life.[1] "Jesus should be held a real man who had been chosen by God, who in virtue of his free will had steadfastly attested his excellence, and who, at last, had become perfectly fused with the Logos in disposition, will, and finally also in nature."[2] They held tenaciously to the miraculous birth and the rest of the teachings of the first three gospels, but laid chief stress upon Christ's humanity. Many placed the time of his receiving the power from on high at the time of his baptism since there were no miracles showing forth this power before that time.[3]

We observe the Person of Christ to be finding its preeminence in the Adoptianist movement in Paul of Samosata in that he opposed the already dominant doctrine of the essential natural deity of Christ, and set up once more the old view in regard to the human person of the redeemer. His close associate was Beryll, the Arabian Bishop in Bostra, who also taught the dynamistic point of view. This position seems to take a very religious and realistic view of the Christological problem rather than the moralistic point of view of the earlier Apologists. It strives for the deifying of the human race through the Incarnation of the Son of God.

---

[1] Tixeront, HD, I, 288.
[2] Harnack, HD, III, 35.
[3] Tixeront, HD, I, 288.

The last item of interest in regard to Irenaeus which will be noted here is the fact that in his thinking we find the inception of the two nature doctrine. "The apotheosis of mortal man through his acquisition of imoortality is here adopted (Irenaeus and Hippolytus) by Christianity from ancient mysteries, and brought into the closest connection with the historical Christ, the Son of God and the Son of man."[1]

Hippolytus

Our contact with Hippolytus will serve as an excellent transition to another of the group in the East with whom he was closely allied. Tertullian, he who came to be known as the founder of the West,[2] began to write in Latin instead of Greek, and gave the Western thinkers an opportunity to express themselves in their own terms. It is in Tertullian also that we find the other of the Apologists who was interested in the nature of Christ's person, and its philosophical significance.

Tertullian

Tertullian and Hippolytus had the main share in introducing into the doctrine of faith a philosophically formulated dogma, viz., that the Son of God is the Logos. "Its introduction into the Creed of Christendom was the setting up of the first dogma of the church, and meant the future conversion of the rule of faith into a philosophic system."[3] It was in these two thinkers that we find the Logos doctrine developed without reference to the historical Jesus.[4]

Tertullian views God as alone at the beginning. When

---

[1]Harnack, HD, II, 10.
[2]Tixeront, HD, I, 304.
[3]Harnack, HD, II, 10.
[4]Ibid., 262.

the moment came to create, however, he uttered the word which contained his reason and his ideas. This utterance constituted the Word's perfect birth. The doctrine of the trinity does not compromise the unity of God, but rather distributes it. By means of this point of view, the monarchy is organized. "The three persons are numerically distinct among themselves....yet they are God. They have the same nature, substance, state, power, and virtue."[1] "Et pater deus, et filius deus, et spiritus sanctus deus, at deus unusquisque."[2]

We have now come therefore to Tertullian's point of view, "tres personae, una substantia," the consubstantial view which has remained the formula of the Latin Church. It is in the relation of the Son and the Father a "Two-fold condition not blended but united into one person. Here we already have in a complete form the later Chalcedonian formula of the two substances in one person."[3]

The body of Christ he affirms to have been real, conceived in flesh, and brought forth as ours of flesh and bones. The denial of this aspect of his life for Tertullian seemed to be the denial of the reality of His sufferings and death, and hence made Him less meaningful. Such a limitation made Him less worthy of His place in the redemptive system.[4] Jesus is therefore our kin since He took our body. Yet He is also God.[5] At first this is viewed as a sort of mixture, but before long we find him writing: "Videmus duplicem statum non confusum, sed coniunctum in una persona, Deum et hominem Iesum."[6] Jesus Christ is therefore one person, but two substances.

---

[1] Tixeront, HD, I, 312.
[2] Tertullian, Adv. Praxean, ch. 13.
[3] Harnack, HD, II, 281.
[4] Tertullian, De Carne Christe, I, 5,9.
[5] Adv. Praxean, ch. 27.

> The cosmos everywhere is dominated by reason and order. It bears the impress of the divine Logos. It appears as the copy of a higher eternal world. The Apologists introduced the Logos in order to separate God from matter, because they regarded this as something bad. Of all the Apologists, Tertullian and Justin were practically the only ones who were interested in the incarnation of the Logos in Jesus.[1] The Logos is the hypostasis of the operative power of reason.[1]

It is thus that we have traced the development of the Logos until it reaches its place at the center of the theology which is to receive the support of the Latin Church. Cyprian and Novatian made their contributions, but it was from the pen of Tertullian that the formulation came which received complete expression later in the Chalcedonian Creed.

Alexandrian Christology

In the East the names of significance are very few. In fact, Clement and Origen are those who have stood out most prominently and most fitly characterized the thought in their immediate section of the world.

Clement describes himself as a pupil of Tatian, and frequently shows influence of Justin.[2] "With all his admiration for Greek philosophy and intense sympathy with its inspiring and noble characteristics, he never wavers in the conviction that Christ has brought to men the best and highest revelation of God. This revelation naturally enough Clement interprets by means

Clement

---

[1] Harnack, HD, II, 206.

[2] Mackintosh, DPJC, 162.

of the Logos doctrine."[1] It does have the disadvantage of depersonalising the historic Saviour for the sake of the eternal Logos.

In his consideration of the Trinity we find his doctrine of the person and nature of Christ. Here the doctrine of the divine Logos occupies a central position. He conceived of two Logoi which are to be distinguished as the intelligence of God and the personal Logos who is the Son.[2] He affirms the eternal generation of the personal Logos, one of the distinct characteristics of the Alexandrian school. Born of the Father from all eternity, the Logos is like Him. He is truly God as the Father is; He is all intelligence, He sees, hears, knows, and governs all.[3]

Clement has been charged with subordinationism, Modalism, and with Docetism at different times by different critics,[4] but these are various points of view coming from critics with differing interests. It is true that he affirmed the real body, the material blood, and the passible manhood of Jesus Christ, but at the same time he affirmed the natures in Him. He speaks of Him as the God man because he conceived of the Logos as both God and man.

As to His work, Clement conceives of it as chiefly revelation and teaching. Jesus is our doctor and master, our true pedagogue.[5] Further, however, Jesus is conceived as accomplishing the work of redemption and reconciliation since He is the propitiation

---

[1] Mackintosh, DPJC, 162.
[2] Tixeront, HD, I, 247.
[3] Clement, Stromata, VII, 2, col. 408.
[4] Tixeront, HD, I, 249-250.
[5] Stromata, VII, 10, col. 490.

for our sins, an immolated victim whose blood redeems us and reconciles us to God.[1]

As was suggested he affirmed two Logoi. "The distinction between an impersonal Logos God and the Logos Christ necessarily appeared as soon as the Logos was definitely hypostatized. The Son Logos is an emantion of the Reason of God, which unalterably remains in God and is the Logos proper. The word was familiar to Clement as a designation of the community of nature possessed by the Logos both with God and with man."[2] In this we find the development of the two-nature doctrine which is to come to a place of preeminence a few years later.

The greatest of the eastern theologians, however, was Origen. His influence penetrated more deeply than that of any other man of his age.[3] It was Origen's unique contribution that he wrote the first Christian dogmatic founded on the scriptures of both Old and New Testaments. He presents a peculiar union of the

Origen

Apologetic theology of a Justin and the Gnostic theology of Valentinus, while keeping unfalteringly in view the highly practical aim.[4] It is as a result of his work that a place of prominence is given to the doctrine of eternal generation of the Son as coming from his hand. Origen stands eminently as the theologian of the Scripture.[5]

The idea of subordinationism is very clear in Origen, for of the three hypostases he never fails to recognize that the Son is

---

[1] Stromata, V, 11, col. 108.
[2] Harnack, HD, III, 352, Note 2.
[3] Tixeront, HD, I, 256.
[4] Harnack, HD, II, 11.
[5] Tixeront, HD, I, 260.

inferior to the Father. He forestalls the possibility also of an accusation of Modalism by constantly affirming the distinction in being between the Father and the Son.[1] The Christ, the Saviour, is not God by communication but shares in His essence. We find the expression here for essential unity with the Father in terms of "Homoousious to patri," the same substance with the Father.[2] "Our Lord, one from one, God from God, impress and image of Godhead, energetic word, wisdom embracing the entire system of the universe and power producing all creation, true Son of a true Father, the visible of the invisible, and incorruptible of the incorruptible, the immortal of the immortal, the eternal of the eternal."[3]

The eternity and the completeness of the revelation of God in Christ is conceived as follows by Origen as an elaboration of the Logos doctrine:

> The Logos is the consciousness of God, the spiritual activity of God. Hence he is on the one hand the idea of the world existing in God, and on the other the product of divine wisdom originating with the will of God....The Logos who appeared in Christ, as is specially shown from John 1.1 and Heb. 1.1, is the perfect image of God. He is the wisdom of God, the reflection of his perfection and glory, the invisible image of God. There is nothing corporeal in him and he is therefore really God. Since God is immutable, this revelation is eternal.[4]

Jesus Christ was therefore born of the Virgin and the Holy Ghost. He was God who made himself man and became incarnate.

Origen was a strong believer in the doctrine of original sin. Every child that was born into the world he looked upon as

---

[1]Tixeront, HD, I, 263.
[2]Harnack, HD, III, 254.
[3]Origen, Caspari Quellen, IV, p. 10.
[4]Harnack, HD, II, 353.

marked with the stain of this sin. Since Jesus' purpose in the world was the revelation of the Father and the expiation of this sin, the redemptive process is viewed as closely connected with the person of Jesus. "Redemption is therefore the grasping by man of the eternal essence of the Logos revealed to us through Christ's teaching in the eternal gospel. The whole humanity of the Redeemer finally disappears.....and what remains is the principle, the divine reason, which became known and recognisable through Christ."[1]

Thus Origen, whether he contributed to the rise of Adoptianism or not, laid a great deal of stress upon the humanity of Jesus and his human significance. He did place, however, greater stress upon his divinity, and upon his place in the philosophical system of the contemporary co-religionists as the eternally generated Logos of the Father.

The group who were observed to have strengthened the cause of Adoptianism in the East, Beryll, the Arabian bishop of Bostra, and Paul of Samosata, Bishop of Antioch, in their attempts to assert that Christ was not of the essential nature of deity found one of their Adoptianism greatest and most rightly feared opponents in Origen and his doctrine of Christ as one substance (homoousios to patri) with the Father, yet wholly and unquestionably distinct. Harnack is of the opinion in this connection that there was another force which led to the fall of the Adoptianist point of view, a reason which is infrequently mentioned. He says that it was the fact that the orthodox belief found an appearance of Christ in the Old Testament

[1] Harnack, HD, II, 369.

that broke the effect of this theory of the adoption of Jesus by God at the time of Jesus' earthly life.[1]

It is in this connection also that we come into contact with Dionysius, the aged Bishop of Alexandria. Although the Bishop refused to take sides in the controversy in regard to Paul of Samosata, yet he did feel it his responsibility to refute the Sabellian doctrine, the closely related doctrine of Egyptian millenarianism, and to lead these misled brethren back into a belief in the glorious and truly divine appearing of God. Upon this score, however, the Roman bishop interposed with a refutation of the Alexandrian doctrine of the subordination of the Son. Therefore he took it upon himself to contradict the Alexandrian teaching and at the same time send a didactic letter to the Sabellians. "The Roman bishop sought to find the just mean between the false unitarian doctrine of Sabellianism on the one hand, and the false trinitarian or Alexandrian (false in its view of subordination) on the other."[2]

Dionysius and Sabellianism

It is out of these doctrinal assertions that the next major conflict arises. The Unity of Essence, eternal generation, and the distinction of the persons form the issues in the Arian controversy, a controversy arising a very few years later, and finding its culmination in the work of Athanasius and the Nicene Council.

---

[1] Harnack, HD, III, 32.

[2] Ibid., 92.

CHAPTER II

THE NICENE CREED AND THE MIDDLE AGES

Athanasius and the Nicene Creed

The Arian controversy arose in connection with the heresy introduced by one Arius, a presbyter of the Alexandrian Church. Sheldon speaks of the period from the fourth to the seventh century as the era of great Christological controversy. It was, it is true, in this period that the great number of councils convened for the purpose of settling doctrinal controversy, and many of them were in regard to the nature and person of Christ.[1]

Arian Controversy

In the views of Arius we are able to trace some of the doctrines seen before because he had come into contact with the teaching of Paul of Samosata through the medium of Lucian of Antioch. Some also have identified his views with those of the left wing of the Origenistic party.

The outbreak seems likely to have come in connection with a doctrinal address given by Alexander of Alexandria in 318.[2] According to the view presented, God is abstractly perfect and infinite, one and unbegotten. Hence the Divine emanation cannot be allowed. "The unity of God excludes not only distinctions inside

---

[1] Sheldon, SOCD, 339.

[2] Mackintosh, DPJC, 176.

the Divine nature, but also contact with the world."[1] This view then would make the Son, although preexistent, not unbegotten. If the Son was not begotten, then there must have been a time when he was not, and therefore his creation out of nothing must be affirmed. At one time God was not the Father but existed alone.

The distinction here, however, is that the Arians concede a Logos in the Father, but this Logos is not the Son. Thus they are seen to have made use of the double Logos of Clement. The Arians were opposed to the orthodox point of view when it came to the matter of the affirmation of the identity of essence of the Son with God, the Father. Christ is only God by participation in the grace of the Logos at the heart of the Father.[2] Harnack summarizes the Arian point of view in the following quotation:

> The assertions of the Arians are that the Son is God, Logos, and Wisdom in a nominal sense only, that there was a time when the Son was not, that He has sprung from the will of the Father, that He was created out of the non-existent, and that He is subject to change.[3]

The chief contender in behalf of the orthodox position in this controversy is Athanasius, who appears first upon the scene as the secretary of the Bishop of Alexandria at the council of Nicea.

Athanasius

He thus must have been technically ineligible to the floor of the council, but it appears that he had a dominant part in the debates on doctrine which occupied the hours of this great council.

---

[1] Gwatkin, The Arian Controversy, 6. Quoted in Mackintosh, DPJC, 176.
[2] Mackintosh, DPJC, 177.
[3] Harnack, HD, 32.

The central contention of the work of Athanasius is that God Himself entered human history. Man whom He had created in His own image came into sin through the fall and it was necessary for a higher power to intervene in order that restitution of a sufficient significance could be made. Therefore out of his infinite love God sent His Son, His immortal Word, who took human flesh, and sacrificed this mortal body for the sins of all mankind. Death then was permitted to wreak the worst of its power upon God's own divine nature, and thereby its power is annulled. "He was made man that we might be made God."[1]

Athanasius held to the restoration of the knowledge of God through the contemplation of the Logos in the Person of Christ since in His work as a man God came down to us. God thereby revealed himself clearly as the Father of mankind.

The view that the redemptive process was an outgrowth of the Goodness of God is brought out by the fact that the Incarnation is never thought of apart from the death of Christ on the Cross, the immediate occasion of the accomplishment of the redemption of man. "But the pervading thought of Athanasius is that the Incarnation itself involved the Christian passage from the fate of death to incorruption, since the physical union of the divine and human nature in the midst of mankind raised the latter to the region of divine rest and blessedness."[2] Athanasius never failed to assert that the place of the Son was within the sphere of the essential Godhead. From

---

[1] Athanasius, (translation) Schaff, Nicene and Post Nicene Fathers, IV, 54.

[2] Harnack, HD, III, 292.

thence He had come forth by generation, which in Athanasius means "the Son's complete participation in the whole essence of the Father."[1]

In order that Christ's work may have had adequate effectiveness, such that He brought eternal life to men and made man divine, it must have been that He had this more than as a gift *secundum participationem*. Christ must have been one in essence with the Godhead. This leads us to the new departure in the thinking of this period. Christ is hereafter conceived as the *Son* of God rather than the *Logos* of God. We come therefore to this position: "Since Christ was God rather than the temporary cache of the Logos there is no reason for the Logos conception. The divine which appears in Christ is not anything created."[2] Experience had shown that the Logos had too easily lent itself to cosmological theories without significant bearing on salvation, and therefore the philosophical doctrine of the Logos perishes before the onslaughts of the more appreciative and more easily understandable term of "Son." Tixeront regards this contention for the Son rather than the Logos to be the center of the message of Athanasius. If God is Father, then He is father of one and only one Son.[3] The Son is numerically distinct from the Father whether it be in *personae* or *prosopon*, the western and the eastern terms, but he is God without division or diminution.

"Son" Replaces "Logos"

Harnack traces Athanasius' thinking in this regard in the following terms:

---

[1] Mackintosh, DPJC, 186.
[2] Harnack, HD, IV, 30.
[3] Tixeront, HD, II, 72.

> The Godhead is a unity. The very name Father implies moreover that a second part exists in the Godhead. God has always been the Father, and whoever calls Him the Father posits at the same time the Son, for the Father is Father of the Son. The Son, the offspring of the Father, is called the Son because He is the eternal perfect reflection of the Father, the image proceeding from the substance of the Father.[1]

The real strength of the position of Athanasius for the church is the simple, direct manner in which he combines the incarnation and its effect. Its effect is its only reason for occurrence, and there, in the light of its effect only does the believer view it properly.

In a summary of the points of significance in Athanasius we find the following: (1) Christ was co-eternal with the Father. (2) He was of the substance of the Father. (3) He is by virtue of His own nature similar in nature to the Father. (4) He is all this because He and the Father are one. They constitute the unity of the Godhead. Christ, through the eradication of the corruption which had encumbered men, restored to men the correct knowledge of God by employing the power of the living God, the Godhead in which He stood immutably as Son.

This finds its best expression in the Creed which comes out as the final expression of the Nicene Council. It was of course intended to strike the finishing blow at the Arians, and therefore, some of its deliverances are in the nature of anathemas. However, Son, not Logos, and the one essence with the Father are definitely given as attributes of the second person of the trinity. It is not

---

[1] Harnack, HD, IV, 30.

to be thought that the Creed was received universally by all those attending the council, nor is it to be doubted that there were others besides Eusebius of Nicomedia who signed with secret reservations in their minds. The Creed as it comes to us is a revised form of the Creed of Caesarea, bearing some important changes. The greatest single difference, thinks Harnack, between this and the Caesarean Creed is the replacement of the term "Son" for "Logos" in the beginning of the second article, thereby changing it so that all that follows refers to the Son.[1]

A translation of the Creed from the Greek reads as follows:

The Nicene Creed

> We believe in one God the Father Almighty, maker of all things both visible and invisible. And in the Lord Jesus Christ the Son of God, begotten of the Father, only begotten, that is, of the substance of the Father, God of God, Light of Light, True God of True God, begotten not made, of one substance with the Father; through whom all things were made, both things in heaven and things on earth; who for us men and for our salvation came down and was made flesh, was made man, suffered, and rose again the third day, ascended into the heavens, and cometh to judge the quick and dead. And in the Holy Spirit. But those who say that "there was once when He was not" and "before being begotten He was not," and "He came to be of things that were not" or contend that the Son of God is of a different substance of essence, or created, or (morally) alterable or mutable, these doth the Catholic Church anathematize.[2]

It might be thought that such an encompassing statement as this would for a time quell doctrinal disturbances, and give place for some uniformity of thinking. This was not true, however, for after Nicea the matter was by no means settled. The controversy still continued in regard to the doctrine of the personal union of the Divine and human natures in the Incarnate Son of God. The

---

[1] Harnack, HD, IV, 53.
[2] Mackintosh, DPJC, 181-182.

Eusebian Party at Nicea, afterward known as the semi-arians, were one of the first to cause dispute. During the reigns of Constantine and his successor Constantius we find some of the faithful, e.g., Hosius of Cordova, enduring exile for the sake of the Nicene Faith. There was a council at Ancyra which was presided over by Basil. Here the Nicene position was rejected as being Sabellian. In the younger Nicene party, however, we find such leaders as the two Gregories, of Nazianzus and Nyssa, and Basil of Caesarea.[1] They contended that Deity had assumed human nature in order to eradicate evil from the world, and saw that the redemption program had its culmination in the Resurrection. Their unique contribution was the idea that Christ had not taken to himself the body of any person but human nature in general as a concept. "Thus the leaven of Deity has pervaded the whole dough of humanity, through and in Christ."[2]

Councils for the consideration of problems of doctrine, chiefly about the nature of Christ, were to be found at Antioch, at Sardica, and at Constantinople. A synod met also at Alexandria whose time was spent in an attempt to bring a satisfactory solution of these problems.

In opposition to the point of view of Diodorus of Tarsus and the Antiochians, arose Apollinaris of Laodicea, who was "above all anxious to affirm and maintain the perfect unity of Jesus Christ for the sake of soteriology."[3] This unity was to be maintained "without sacrificing His real deity."[4] At first he held that the Logos had merely taken a human body. However, after this view was condemned by a synod in Alexandria in 302, "He developed the view that the body and soul in Christ were human, whereas the place of the

Apollinaris

[1] Mackintosh, DPJC, 193.
[2] Harnack, HD, III, 297.
[3] Tixeront, HD, II, 95.
[4] Mackintosh, DPJC, 197.

human spirit was taken by the Logos."[1] Thus the element of dangerous fallibility in man's nature was displaced. Thus the abridged human nature and the Logos were fused into a fundamental unity, God. On the basis that they denied Christ's true humanity, however, Apollinaris and his fellow-contenders were anathematized.

For Theodore and his fellow-contenders in the Nestorian Controversy, a group whose minds were occupied with the maintenance of "the immutability of God, the freedom of the will, and the reality of Jesus' human life,"[2] the relation of Godhead and manhood in Jesus was not more than a relative moral relationship. Thus they distinguish the natures, but affirm the unity of person. The unity of person rests not upon substance, however, but kata karin which is a gift God bestows solely in proportaion to the free exercise of virtue.[3]

Nestorius

Eutyches, the archimandrite of Constantinople, is the focal point of the next insurrection in doctrinal affairs. In an attempt to bring the Antiochians under control he had made statements which caused him to be accused of Apollinarianism. He had said that God could not have been of the same essence with man, and hence his position was denounced as heretical. The council of Constantinople (448) where the charge was made and where he was anathematized was followed shortly by another called in Ephesus the next year. He had refused assent to a doctrine of 'two natures and one hypostasis' at the council of Constantinople on the basis that

Eutyches

---

[1] Mackintosh, DPJC, 198.

[2] Ibid., 201.

[3] Harnack, HD, IV, 168.

it held two natures after the union, and hence was Nestorian. He was befriended by Dioscurus, however, and he was reinstated at the Ephesian Council. This council prompted the sending of Pope Leo's Dogmatic Epistle, as a result of which Dioscurus was deposed, and Nestorianism and Eutychianism were condemned.

The Chalcedonian Creed

It was this letter of Leo that was the norm of orthodoxy in the council of Chalcedon, the fourth Ecumenical Council of the Church, which met in 451. The field is laid at wide extremes. There has come no real force to declare the validity of the middle ground. It was therefore of great significance that the Creed of Chalcedon should take its position between the two extremes. Dr. William A. Brown, in his book entitled Christian Theology in Outline, has called his discussion of this council, "Chalcedon, a middle point of view." He considers it to be the mean between the following extremes:

> A careful study of history shows two tendencies at work; one which interprets the person of Christ from the point of view of Deity, and has no place for a separate human personality; the other which interprets his person from the point of view of his humanity, and hence desires to make the separation between the human and the Divine natures as distinct as possible. The Alexandrian theologians inclined to the former view...The School of Antioch on the other hand saw in Jesus a particular man, like Peter, or Paul, with whom the Divine Spirit united ethically as he might unite with any good man.[1]

With this very clearly stated estimate of the issues let us proceed to inspect the middle ground, the Creed which Sheldon points out has

---

[1] Brown, CTO, 332 n.

been the Creed of general acceptance and the common basis of faith since the close of the seventh century. He says that there has been a gradual diminution of belief in the Nestorian and Monophysite points of view since the Chalcedonian Creed was accepted in opposition to their tenets. The church no longer has a place for the scheme which compromised the unity of Christ's person, and neither does it have regard for the system of thought which fused and confounded the two natures.[1]

The Antiochians

The text of the Creed which occupied this middle ground is as follows:

> Therefore following the Holy Fathers we all with one consent teach men to confess one and the same Son our Lord Jesus Christ, the same perfect in Godhead and the same perfect in manhood, truly and the same truly man, of a rational soul and body, coessential with the Father according to the Godhead, and coessential with us according to the manhood...to be acknowledged in two natures, without confusion, without mutation, without division, without separation; the distinction of natures being by no means taken away by the union, but rather the property of each nature being preserved and concurring in one person and one hypostasis, not divided or separated into two persons but one and the same Son and only begotten God Logos.[2]

This official acceptance of the middle ground did not meet with universal enthusiasm, however. On the contrary, we find that there were not those in the eastern church capable of defending the Chalcedonian position sufficiently strongly and as a result frightful revolts appeared in Egypt, Palestine, and a part of Syria,[3]

Monophysite Controversy

where large bodies of Christians broke away from the Church. The monophysites renounced their allegiance to the Alexandrian patriarch, and by 482 we find three

---

[1] Sheldon, SCD, 339.

[2] Mackintosh, DPJC, 212; Harnack, HD, IV, 220.

[3] Brown, CTO, 335.

parties instead of two.[1] At the fifth Ecumenical council there came, however, a decision that our Lord, who was crucified in the flesh, Jesus Christ, was one of the Trinity. The idea was an extension of the theopaschite doctrine, but it received official sanction of orthodoxy.

Monothelite Controversy

Not only was there discussion in regard to the nature of Christ but also there arose difficulty in connection with the will and energy which was in him. Gregory of Nyssa, Cyril, and others had taught the doctrine of one energy in Christ but their ideas had been different. The older theologies of Leontius and Justin had conceived of Christ as having two energies. Sophronius, who was afterwards bishop of Jerusalem, declared that the doctrine of mia energia was Apollinarianism, but it was supported also by Makarius, Patriarch of Antioch. Thus at the Sixth Ecumenical Council in 681 the Monothelite (Monergist) ideas were condemned as heretical, and a creed of flattery to the emperor, in whose charge it met, was adopted. The doctrinal outcome of the encounter was this: "Two natural thelamata were acknowledged and two natural energies existing indivisibly, unchangeably, and undividedly, and unconfusedly in one Christ."[2]

John of Damascus

In John of Damascus we find the sort of thinking which characterizes the years after the anathematizing of the monothelite doctrine. His ideas were stated very much in a scholastic form, but they were in keeping with the figures of speech of the time.

---

[1] Harnack, HD, IV, 226.
[2] Ibid., 252.

The hypostasis belonged, he contended, to both the natures wholly. The divine nature preponderates very considerably, so greatly that it has been remarked that in John of Damascus the Logos is at one and the same time the hypostasis and then the composite being of Christ. In any case the humanity is in no way to be considered as entirely homogeneous with the divinity.[1]

It is in the attempt to understand the working out of the new orthodox position in the West that we leave the eastern thinkers. The extremes still exist,between which there are many attempts to steer a middle course. Orthodoxy, as we have seen, has championed the Chalcedonian attempt, and with this we take our leave. John is seen as the 'registrar of Greek orthodoxy' at the council in 553. But as years passed men lost their sense of history, and the memories of the earthly life of Jesus seemed to pass into oblivion.[2]

Augustine and the West in the Middle Ages

The Christology of the West, although taking its departure from very much the same tenets, finds itself working out its systems of doctrine in keeping with an altogether different spirit. Tertullian, the jurist, and Cyprian, the ecclesiastical ruler, are typical of the leaders of the western Christology. There is a certain matter-of-factness about the western thinking which is entirely

---

[1] Harnack, HD, IV, 264.
[2] Mackintosh, DPJC, 222.

lost in the metaphysical speculation of the Eastern mind. The thought systems were very legalistic, and on every hand satisfaction theories arose.

There is one element of importance which is to be found in the thinking of the West in which it has a distinct advantage over the East. That is the restitution to be found in the idea coming from the work of Cyprian and finding later development in the work of Anselm, the Satisfaction theory. According to this view Christ, by His satisfacere deo presented a sacrifice to God who was angry. This element of sacrifice was entirely lacking in Greek theology. By the same token, however, the stress upon the human side of Jesus' personality which was characteristic of the West kept the thinkers of the West from seeing the completeness and the perfection of the assumptio carnis, an expression of the loftiest piety among the Greeks. This was one of the great points of division in the complete separation of the Latins from the Greek piety.

One of the chief figures in the Christological thinking of the West is Augustine, Bishop of Hippo. In order to treat his contributions at this point it is necessary to step back somethat in point of years, it is true, but the line is developed thereby with greater continuity. Augustine is not to be regarded as having been an especially original or creative mind in the field of Christology. Nevertheless, his genius and his verbal and dialectical ability did serve to bring greater light upon very many of the doctrines of the early church, both in their interpretation

Augustine

and in their expression.[1]

He endeavored to be at all times in keeping with the accepted orthodoxy and to present only those positions which were most useful to the church. He was an examplar of the western spirit in theological matters to which attention has already been directed. He did have one interesting turn in his nature. He never succeeded in throwing off completely the influence of the Neo Platonic nous. This is to be marked in the various stages of his development.[2] Yet he was able to avoid the path of subordinationism, into which a similar approach led Origen. In fact, the elimination of the sympathy for the subordinationist point of view is what Knudson considers to be one of the significant contributions of Augustine to Christological thought.[3]

Harnack gives the following brief evaluation of the effect of Augustine upon western thinking:

> It has been said of Socrates that he brought philosophy down from heaven; we may maintain that Augustine did the same for dogmatics, by separating it from the speculations about the infinite and the finite, God the Logos and the creature, mortal and immortal, and connecting it with questions as to the moral good, sin, and blessedness.[4]

The West took the two-nature doctrine of Christ as its starting point, but it went far in the practicalization of this idea. The body of Jesus was real, earthly, and taken from woman.[5] Furthermore, the mediator was looked upon as the man whose voluntary

---

[1] Tixeront, HD, II, 274.
[2] Mackintosh, DPJC, 224.
[3] Knudson, DR, 290.
[4] Harnack, HD, V, 95.
[5] De Agone Christiano, 20:24. See Tixeront, HD, II, 374.

achievement possessed an infinite value by virtue of a special dispensation of God. "The world was reconciled to God by means of the flesh of Christ."[1] The perfection of Christ's humanity is affirmed, both in knowledge and in attributes. The two natures have not become confused, however. They have rather remained distinct. Jesus Christ is God, and man is therefore a mediator. Many times the unity which is achieved by the presence of these two factors is spoken of as a "mixture."[2] Out of the many quotations which could be given in this regard there stands Tixeront's choice of three main points of contention: "(1) There is Jesus Christ, one Son only, God's natural Son. (2) He infers also the communicatio idiomatum for which Augustine gives grounds and a theory. [De Trinitate, I, 28. This is one of the earliest traces of the doctrine which is to play a great part in the Lutheran Christology, and in the rise of the theory of Kenosis.] (3) It is the Word who in Jesus Christ imparts to man His divine personality."[3]

This very great accent upon the human nature of Christ wrought a very significant change in western thinking. The stress which atonement was to receive rises out of this departure in the minds of western thinkers. The offering and the offered was, according to this view, a man who received his value through divine nature. It must be admitted, however, that a great deal of the efficacy of the venture rested with the acceptance on the part of God. "In the West Christianity became a religion of atonement rather than of mystical speculation, and for this reason we find greater stress upon the

---

[1] Harnack, HD, V, 54.
[2] Augustine, De Trinitate, IV, 30.
[3] Tixeront, HD, II, 377.

work of Christ, and comparatively little theorizing concerning the speculative problem."[1]

Augustine did contribute much to the strengthening of the two-nature doctrine in the West.[2] It was here that his great contribution as a verbalist and master of dialectics was made. He did, although in veiled manner, oppose the doctrine of the divine nature. He discussed the nature of Christ in terms of the historical Christ, and looked upon everything which came to Christ as having come through the agency of divine grace.[3] The vigor with which he denounced Apollinarianism, however, is sufficient to show that although he did not openly oppose the two-nature doctrine, he found his deepest interest centered in the human soul of Jesus.[4]

Attention was called previously to the fact that the Neo Platonic nous had some effect upon the direction taken by some of Augustine's speculations. In order that full justice may be done to this idea and its value, it should be pointed out that it was in connection with the idea that the writer expressed some of his finest concepts. Speculation on the nous and its ascent, i.e., the ascent of the soul, led to the idea of a supreme, unchangeable, permanent Being,[5] the incorporeal truth, spiritual substance, incommutable and true eternity of truth, and the light incommutable.[6]

Effect of "Nous"

One of the interesting points of view in Augustine is

---

[1] Harnack, HD, V, 55.
[2] Augustine, Enchiridion, XL.
[3] Harnack, HD, V, 54.
[4] Ibid., 128.
[5] Augustine, Confess., VII:16.
[6] Augustine, De Civitate Dei, XI:26.

that he never conceives of Christ as the Logos acting alone. It is rather the whole Trinity which acts. In fact, he conceives of the Incarnation itself as the work of the whole Trinity. The Son was partaker in the Word since He was one of the Trinity. The Word was not more closely related than the whole Trinity to the Son.[1] It was seen above that the power and merits of Christ were derived through gifts of divine Grace. This is often viewed as the point of uniqueness in Jesus. "The uniqueness and power of the person of Jesus Christ were to be derived from the receptiveness with which the man Jesus met the operatio divina."[2]

The very points which were most characteristic of Augustine would have been considered arch heresy in the eyes of the eastern church; it would have been productive, if followed logically, of Adoptianism, a point of view which had received its judgment many years earlier.

Spanish Christology

Although throughout the church there came to be a modification of the Augustinian Christology in favor of the semi-Apollinarian view of Chalcedon there continued in Spain the traditional Augustinian Christology for many centuries. This is to be seen in an adoptianist trace which appears in Spain in the eighth century. At this time it is discovered that Elipandus of Toledo and Felix of Urgel had begun to teach that the human nature combined with the Deity of the Redeemer was not at once taken into the essential unity of the Divine person, and consequently had

[1] Harnack, HD, V, 128.
[2] Ibid., 128.

no direct share in the Divine Sonship but was only Son of God adoptively. It is for this reason that we find a line in the Spanish ritual: "Passio filii adoptivi,"[1] and it is out of this that the Adoptianist movement in Spain arose.

If we attempt to trace this Adoptianist controversy further, we find it appearing again at the time of the Carlovingian Renaissance, during the ascendency of Gregory the Great. The Christology of the fifth Ecumenical council had dominated that of the sixth council in the occident, and semi-monophysitism replaced the strict Chalcedonian view. Adoptianism was straightway condemned, and Felix, Bishop of Naples, was forced to recant. Frankish Spain also at the same time was recalled through gentle pressure, the wheel of torture, to the unity of the mystical faith. "The doctrine of John of Damascus which conceived the human nature in Christ as impersonal and placed it as the assumed nature of the Logos in complete unity with him, gained the victory in the occident also."[2]

When the Christological developments of the Middle Ages are traced there appear some very interesting movements. The first of these finds expression in the great theories of the Atonement which arose. Anselm's great contribution, although belonging more strictly to theory of the work than of the person of Christ, the Satisfaction Theory of the atonement, has the distinction of being the first truly philosophical theory of the atonement.[3]

Anselm

---

[1] Mackintosh, DPJC, 225.
[2] Harnack, HDO, 394.
[3] Knudson, DR, 357.

Abelard also placed the great emphasis on the work of Christ. His system of thought followed the Johannine conception of the death of Christ as "A direct expression of divine love."[1]

Abelard

Bernard of Clarivaux reaches new heights in the extent to which he stressed the manhood of Jesus. He sets aside the mysterious and half-known Christ of the sacrament in order that he may lay hold of and cling to "The Man whose mind and deeds and passion are the medium of Divine life to the world."[2] Ritschl finds a great deal of value in the emphasis placed here by Bernard. He says: "He (Bernard) speaks of the God-man, but to this effect, that the Divine Person of the Logos wears the human nature--the flesh--as the organ of His activity. On these assumptions Bernard develops the communicatio idiomatum."[3] In the historically existent Jesus Christ, God is ever present to redeem.

Bernard

Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus present a God who is too transcendent to be of value to man, and therefore they find it necessary to avoid, at all costs, the confusion of deity and humanity. According to this approach the natures were not so much united in Christ, as they were brought into a common relation with the Logos. This system lost its vitality by reason of the fact that Christ's superiority was done away, and every man had an opportunity for the presence of God equal

Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus

---

[1] Knudson, DR, 353.
[2] Mackintosh, DPJC, 227.
[3] Ritschl, JR, 415.

to His presence in Christ.[1] Thomas had much to say in advancing the ideas of Augustine that the man Christ Jesus was the recipient of much through Divine Grace. Scotus, when the burden fell upon him, realized the additional advantages to be gained through a greater stress upon the humanity of Christ and therefore he exhibited a deeper appreciation of Jesus' human experience. Here the distinction received new emphasis. Duns Scotus' idea is that "the union of the natures is at best a relation of dependence whereby the humanity is subsumed under the divinity."[2]

With this group we take leave of the Middle Ages and enter upon a study of the movement in connection with which came a deeper understanding of the person of Christ than had prevailed since the Apostolic Age.

---

[1] Mackintosh, DPJC, 229.
[2] Ibid., 229.

CHAPTER III

LUTHER AND THE CHANGING CHRISTOLOGY

The Reformation Christology

The great contribution of the Reformation was seen in the emergence of an entirely new type of Christian piety. The new conception of the person of Christ and the departure from the authoritarianism of the Catholic Church had both an inspirational and a psychological effect upon those who embraced the new movement.

Doctrinally there was very little to cause alarm. It was merely a reaffirmation of belief in the orthodox Chalcedonian dogma. They did, however, put their own construction upon the wording which they found in the Chalcedonian formula. The Reformers were not in complete agreement:

> In the west we see Lutheran and Calvinist, both professing to hold the Chalcedonian Christology, carrying on in the form of an interpretation of its statements, the debate begun long ago by Nestorius and Eutyches. The Lutheran, laying chief stress on the union of the two natures, affirms a Christ whose consciousness during his earthly life is practically divine. This he does by distinguishing between nature and attribute, and declaring that while the former remains distinct, the latter may be interchanged (communicatio idiomatum). The Calvinist, on the other hand, following the Nestorian tradition, insists upon the sharp distinction between the human and the divine in the Incarnate Christ, and solves the psychological difficulties to which this hypothesis leads by the hypothesis of an alternating consciousness, now human, nowdivine.[1]

[1] Brown, CTO, 335.

Luther finds his faith resting in God and in Christ who are one and the same thing. It further fastens the work and the person of the redeemer together with an indissoluble bond. According to this view, therefore, the work of redemption, the chief concern of the Protestant theology, finds sacrifice and redemption in the Godhead itself.[1] As the work of redemption must be eternal, so also the person by whom it is accomplished is eternal. The approach, however, renders this attitude exemplary of the spirit of the Reformation. Luther proceeds upon a certainty that to understand Christ we must begin with the knowledge of His earthly life. He found the strength of Jesus' example in the power of His earthly life. God only could avail for human sin, and Christ was God.

The doctrine of communicatio idiomatum attempts to bring a unified view of Christ's person by making the humanity co-extensive with the divinity. Some have made that accusation that the growth of this doctrine was as an expedient for the gaining of this end.[2] The controversy arose in connection with the eucharist controversy and the attempt of Luther to affirm the ubiquity of Christ's body without transubstantiation. The interchange of predicates between the human and divine natures, the characteristic of the doctrine of communicatio idiomatum thereupon arose.

In the Formula of Concord(1577) we find the complete expression of the Lutheran position and its relation to other historic and contemporaneous doctrines. The Formula calls

Formula of Concord

---

[1] Mackintosh, DPJC, 231.
[2] Sheldon, SCD, 340.

attention to the fact that the sacramentarians had affirmed that the human and divine natures are in such wise personally united in Christ that neither communicates to the other really anything which is proper to either nature. The names only are communicated. In controverting this point of view, as well as the other doctrines which are anathematized, such as the positions of Nestorius, Eutychus, Arius, and Marcion, the doctrine of Luther stands thus as it was set down:

> The human and the divine in Christ were personally united that there are not two Christs--one the Son of God and the other the Son of man--but that one and the same is the Son of God and the Son of man...not mingled into one substance... But each nature retains its own essential attributes...God is man and man is God...for how could a man, the Son of Mary, be truly called God or the Son of God most high, if his humanity were not personally united with the Son of God?[1]

Much of this was delivered as a polemic against the distinction affirmed by the Nestorians, and the Calvinists who were the bearers of this doctrine at the time of Luther. The thinking of Calvin no less affirmed the divine nature of Christ, but he did lay

Calvinism

new stress upon the distinction and certainty of Jesus' humanity. That he should have been divine was not enough. The Calvinists proclaimed "Jesus' human life as a religious and ethical experience, striving to regard the Incarnate one as He regarded Himself--as a Son of Man, a Man of Sorrows and acquainted with Grief."[2] By bringing new emphasis upon this side of Christ's nature Calvin was led to affirm the threefold office of Christ as Prophet, Priest,

---

[1] Schaff, CC, III, 147ff.
[2] Mackintosh, DPJC, 245.

and King. It was an idea which had found its inception in Eusebius of Caesarea, but, "It was first introduced into systematic theology by Calvin."[1] Since the time of Calvin, moreover, it has had a prominent place in Protestant dogmatics.

The immediate consequence of this sort of Christology is seen in the doctrine of Socinus, who died in 1604. He took exception to the sort of theorizing which had been current in doctrinal circles, and attempted to submit Christology to the strict rules of logic. He therefore carried the new doctrine farther and affirmed that Jesus was but a mere man. This involved a view of God which he might have inherited from any one of a number of the earlier theologians, that of a supremely transcendent God. Socinus, therefore, making earnest with this view of a transcendent God, proceeds to "see in Christ simply a man who has been raised by God to divine honors, and is to be worshipped accordingly."[2]

Socinianism

Through the reaffirmation of Jesus as the one and only perfect mediator between God and man in this movement we are able to understand the growth of the idea of the Virgin Mary as mediator in the Middle Ages. Jesus' place as mediator had become so completely lost in the endless speculation as to the way the two elements in his nature remained distinct and yet a part of the same unity that the men of the world could no longer see Him as mediator. A mediator is one who mediates, and if the mediator becomes so incomprehansible

---

[1] Knudson, DR, 335.
[2] Brown, CTO, 336.

that He is as hard to approach as God himself, then man must seek a new mediator. With the Lutheran assertion that one person stands as mediator, we find men willing to accept Him again as the means of approach to God. The type of piety which it produces is the test for any system of thought in regard to the person of Christ. Upon this assumption it is easily understandable that the type of corrupted piety seen in the Middle Ages must be the consequence of such diverse speculations as to the source of belief and faith. By the same token, the piety which has grown up in both Catholic and Protestant circles as a result of the styptic effect of the Reformation and Counter Reformation movements is truer to the Christian ideal, because Christ was given an opportunity to come again to his place as mediator between God and man.

The new and growing interest in the person of Christ must be looked upon as one of the most significant theological changes which came out of the Reformation.

Transition Christologies

The 'New Christology' as such cannot possibly be traced further back than the Reformation. In fact, it was not till approximately two hundred years after the Reformation that there appears any movement the ideas of which can be identified with the spirit and thought which characterizes the present day trend. In Schleiermacher, Ritschl, Dorner, and the growth of the doctrine of

Kenosis we find the transition from the theories entertaining a transcendent God to the "New Christology" with its God of immanence.

It is in the spirit which is characteristic of the modern mind that there comes a growing interest in the Person of Christ. The scientific empirical of the individual in regard to whom there had been so much obscure theorizing was the goal that intrigued the progressive thinkers to whom we trace the movement. Mackintosh speaks of the rise of this new tendency thus:

> Somewhere near the beginning of the eighteenth century, pioneer minds began to feel that thie (the theocentric view of the incarnation) cannot be the right path for human intelligence. We must start from a point closer to ourselves. So the great modern movement of research, of which the outcome has virtually been a rediscovery of the historic Jesus, represents an ever-growing volume of devout study of the Life pictured in the Gospels, inspired by the conviction that whatever more it is at all events genuinely and completely human. The point of view, in other words, gradually became anthropocentric.[1]

In expressing his conception of the progress in thinking in regard to Christological problems since the Reformation, Dorner shows this change of attitude:

> For centuries the objective dogmas remained almost unmoved corresponding to the directly anthropological starting point of the Reformation. As the gain of the more recent science the knowledge that the finite and the infinite do not exclude each other has become demonstrable. Human nature is not finite merely, but has something of the infinite in it, at least in the form of receptiveness. That which is of infinite value--the moral and the knowledge of the truth, originally resting in God alone--does not transcend the idea of man but belongs to his reality although derivatively. Man is also essentially in need of God, and is therefore destined for the divine, and for living communion with God.[2]

The fault against which the reaction came was one which

---

[1] Mackintosh, DPJC, 247.

[2] Dorner, SCD, III, 253.

had continued through the centuries. It was the misconception of the essential nature of man and his supposed inability to find God revealed in the earthly life of Jesus. There had continued an opinion that there was something impossible of understanding about the life of Jesus. Hermann expresses this difficulty as one of the phases of the early church dogma against which Luther had reacted, "That God Himself is not to be apprehended in the earthly life of Jesus, but is only to be assumed as standing in the background."[1] It was such ideas as this and the theory of Kenosis that the authors of the Formula of Concord had in mind.

In order to view this new movement it is necessary to survey the contributions of some of the individuals in whom it finds expression and whose thinking moves the status of Christological theory closer to the conceptions accepted today. For Schleiermacher

Schleiermacher

Christ was a man but this does not exclude His uniqueness. He had a human father and may have been born in a very natural way, but, "He is distinguished from other men by the absolute control from the start of His religious feeling--the sense of God."[2] His continuous and perfect religiousness is the indwelling of God in Christ and is the peculiarity of His person.

In regard to the humanity of Christ, which is, however, always attended in Schleiermacher's thinking by the God-consciousness, he writes: "The Redeemer, then, is like all men by virtue of the identity of his human nature, but distinguished from them all by the

---

[1] Hermann, ST, 144.
[2] Fisher, HCD, 504.

constant potency of His God consciousness, which was a veritable existence of God in Him."[1] That the consciousness of the presence of God in the life of Christ represented for him divinity itself resident in Christ is made very clear by this statement in regard to Christ's divinity. Schleiermacher never failed to affirm Christ's perfect humanity, but there was no trace in this system of the sort of divinity about Christ which was not entirely consistent with perfect humanity. "To ascribe to Christ an absolutely powerful God-consciousness, and to attribute to Him an existence of God in Him are exactly the same thing."[2]

Loofs stresses the God consciousness as being the significant thing in Schleiermacher's system of thought in regard to Christ:

> According to Schleiermacher, the unique character of Jesus consisted in the singular strength of his consciousness of God.[3]

Other writers regard the God consciousness as the controlling force through the impartation of which to men Christ accomplishes his work of redemption:

> The redemptive agency of Christ consists in the imparting to men that inward consciousness of fellowship with God which in Him is absolutely controlling, and holds every other feeling in due subordination to itself.[4]

The receptivity which was the key to Christ's sense of the presence of God in Him is therefore to be the norm for the experience of all Christians. The receptivity which gave to Christ his divinity is absolutely essential to a successful Christian

---

[1] Schleiermacher, CF, 385.
[2] Ibid., 387.
[3] Loofs, WTJC, 230.
[4] Fisher, HCD, 595.

experience on the part of the individual Christian today. "God's existence can only be apprehended as pure activity, while every individualized existence is merely an intermingling of activity and passivity--the activity being always found apportioned to this passivity in every other individualized existence."[1] Man's part is therefore not purely passivity but "vital receptivity."[2] In this the challenge comes to every man who would know Jesus Christ and likewise to him who would know God, to whom Christ looked and who was in Christ by virtue of Christ's perfect receptivity.

This consciousness of God is that which characterizes the thinking of Schleiermacher more than any other single element. It is evident that although there is much in the Person of Christ whom Schleiermacher presents which keeps Him beyond the reach of our ability to emulate Him, i.e., He is not the Example of man but Type of perfection in mankind, yet fundamentally He is a man. This in itself shows the trend of thought which we are tracing. Dorner shows Schleiermacher's idea of the relation of Christ and man as if to each the God-consciousness was destined to constitute the innermost self:

> In a Sabellian manner he seeks indeed to think of the universe being of God in the world as articulating itself according to the receptiveness of the latter. God has, in his view, a three-fold manner of revelation--in creation, redemption, and the work of the Holy Spirit. In His revelation God has a being. Especially in Christ, he thinks, has the God consciousness become the perfect being of God in Him, which was not yet the case in the first revelation, the creation. Christ alone is He

---

[1] Schleiermacher, CF, 387.

[2] Ibid., 387.

> in whom the peculiar being of God is found; the perfect indwelling of the highest essence in Him he supposes as His individual essence and His innermost self.[1]

In Ritschl, on the other hand, there appears a trace of the old Adoptianism. For him Christ had no preexistence except in the divine foreknowledge and predestination to be the object of God's eternal love. His Christ, then, was raised thus: "He is the type of mankind as predestined for the Kingdom of God. On account of His perfect purity and fidelity, because He overcame the world and made Himself a vehicle in whom God's character and purpose are manifest, He is raised to the right hand of God. And by reason of His unity with God in love and purpose He may be called God and is an object of worship."[2]

Ritschl

Our relation to Christ in this system, as conceived by Ritschl, is in keeping with the main body of His thought system. Not are we to try to identify ourselves with Christ and thereby receive the benefits of His Divine love, but we are to declare ourselves to be members of the Kingdom of God, the establishment of which was included in Christ's earthly purpose.

The example which Christ has set for us as men is valid as a rule for life, and it is therefore our purpose to discover what it was about Him which made His way of life unique. One of the chief factors in the uniqueness of the place which Jesus occupies is His consciousness of His vocation as revealer and founder of the Kingdom of God. Another of the determinants of the validity of his commission

---

[1]Dorner, SCD, III, 255.
[2]Fisher, HCD, 526.

to us is to be found in His fitness, in character and endowments, to fulfill the demands of this vocation He felt to be His. In this, of course, is bound up the attitude of mind which would make him willing to accept the limits of His vocation and to pay the price which fidelity to His divine calling involved. One other factor which has a significant validating force for the minds of unbelievers today is the success with which he has realized his mission by bringing into existence the society in which the life of freedom and brotherly service is actually realized among men of the Christian societies today.[1]

The significance of Jesus as expressed by Ritschl is as follows:

> Jesus is the bearer of the perfect spiritual religion which consists in mutual fellowship with God, the author of the world and its final goal. Jesus desired his own attitude toward God to be shared by mankind. He laid upon his disciples, as their aim also, the union of mankind through love, or in other words, the realization of the Kingdom of God; and through His own personal freedom in relation to the world, He led his disciples in accepting their view of the world from Him, to the assured conviction that human life is of more worth than all the world. By making the aim of his own life the aim of mankind, who are to be called into the fellowship of His community, He is before all the founder of a religion and the redeemer of men from the dominion of the world.[2]

That Christ held His own place in the Godhead is not an opinion from which Ritschl flees. Rather he says that "Christ's Godhead is to be judged a postulate of the Christian faith as it finds expression in the historical figure presented by His own life."[3]

A fine summary of the Ritschlian point of view and an

---

[1] Brown, CTO, 341.
[2] Ritschl, JR, 414.
[3] Ibid., 496.

expression of its significance for Christians of all ages is given by Dr. Brown of Union Theological Seminary in a manner very appreciative of the spirit of Ritschl:

> The divinity of Christ is not so much a theoretical as a practical conception. It is a werthurtheil, or judgment of value, expressing the place which Christ holds in the life of the Church. It expresses the fact that in Jesus of Nazareth his disciples find the ideal of humanity realized, and are conscious through him of being brought into closer contact with a power which is able to raise them above the iron law of necessity into the freedom and joy of the Kingdom of God. Hence to the Church Christ has the value of God. For God, as He is known in religion, means just His practical power to help and deliver. The true task of the theologian is to study the human Jesus that he may learn from an analysis of his life and work what are the features of his character and ministry which give him his unique power to uplift and transform human life. When we have done this we shall have learned what his divinity means for we shall have learned how it comes to pass that in him we find that practical power to help, which we call God.[1]

He who has therefore the power of revealing God through His work and His person is deserving to be called the Son of God in truth.

Loofs speaks of Ritschl as follows:

> According to Ritschl the unique character of Jesus consisted in the fact that Jesus did not allow anything to interrupt his communion with God, and that he had the unique mission to establish the Kingdom of God on earth.[2]

In this point of view it is evident that the direction is from man to God. Man's subjection to God and the ascension of man into the Godhead has been the dominating idea.

Kenoticism

The idea which has dominated the minds of those who have conceived the action as proceeding in the opposite direction, i.e., the stooping of God to man, is found

[1]Brown, CTO, 340.
[2]Loofs, WTJC, 230.

in the Kenotic Theory. Kenosis is the Greek word meaning "to make empty" or "to make void." The Biblical source for such a doctrine is to be found in the Letter to the Philippians wherein Jesus Christ is presented as having emptied himself and taken to himself the form of a servant, "being made in the likeness of men." (Phil. 2:7) A very close relationship to this point of view is seen in the communicatio idiomatum of the Lutheran Christology. "In the development of the Lutheran Christology the idea of the communication from the human side to the divine soon receded from sight, and pretty much the whole stress was laid upon the communication of the divine predicates to the manhood of Christ."[1]

The emptying of the Godhead rests not entirely upon speculative values, but upon practical applications as well. As Dorner says:

> Kenotic views would assert the more strongly the other side of the ethical nature, the self communication or surrender of God to humanity. The most simple form of the Kenotic Theory, and also the most sppropriate, taught that the Logos is capable of growth and is mutable according to His essence, being thereby distinguished from the Father who alone has self existence; that the Logos has passed into human form, has Himself become the Son of Man, who appears in the form of a servant. He had, it is taught, by emptying Himself, brought Himself into the form of existence from the commencement of which He has lived wholly according to the laws of human development, until, having attained its end, this development reconducted Him to His original form. This would be the theory of the self-mutation of the Logos.[2]

It should be pointed out here that this theory has a very close connection with the doctrine of the Trinity. If God

---

[1] Sheldon, SCD, 340.

[2] Dorner, SCD, III, 263.

were a pure 'Monad' it would be impossible for such a doctrine to find credence. If it did, then the universe would be without a controlling hand during the period of growth, and furthermore there would be no place to serve as a repository for the God attributes while the Christ was coming again into capacity for them. Christ's appearing as the Eternal Son of God solves this difficulty, however.[1]

Wolfgang Freidrich Gess of Breslau was one of the most 'reckless' advocates of the Kenotic theory. "He went so far as to say that the self consciousness of the Son of God was extinguished at the moment of the incarnation. Only gradually, he thought, did it emerge again out of the darkening unconsciousness in which the earthly life of the incarnate Logos, like every human life, began."[2] It would seem that this is the ultimate to which a pursuance of the theory would lead. There is, however, one chief objection to this idea. It seems to do violence to the individual whose aggrandizement it has for its purpose. It is not suited to a satisfactory appreciation of the person of Christ.

The other phase of Kenoticism differs largely in interpretation. According to this view Kenosis is that which characterizes the earthly Drama. Kenosis then becomes an eternal process in behalf of man. This is the idea of Garvie and Walker. "The life of God is forever the same life of self denial and self sacrifice, because it is the life of perfect love. Out of His overflowing fulness He is

---

[1]Lewis, JCHQ, 273.
[2]Loofs, WTJC, 225.

constantly giving of Himself in creation in order to find Himself again in those whom He has raised to participation in the Divine Life."[1]

It is not to be thought that the theory, although not altogether acceptable in its entirety, has no advantages. The following is the list of advantages which are granted to it by one who does not hold to its validity in toto:

> It appears to explain much that we meet in the New Testament. It fits in with the belief in Christ's birth as supernaturally brought about. It sheds light upon those passages in which there is a reference to His premundane existence. It gives certain dramatic intensity to the belief that the sufferings of Christ were Divine sufferings, and his death a literal forsaking of the Eternal Son by the Eternal Father. It emphasizes the cost of human redemption. It holds attention at one and the same time to the divine estimate of sin and the divine love for sinners. God would save, but he could not save except at a cost that disrupted the harmonies of His own being. If God the Father in the most literal sense tore out of His bosom God the Son and 'sent Him,' how great the love both of him who sent and of him who came! If nothing less than this would suffice, how great the need of those for whose sakes it was done! The Kenotic Theory visualizes for us, so to speak, the redemptive process.[2]

There are several criticisms which have been launched against Kenoticism which attempt to evaluate it in view of all its encounters. The first is this: that the rising of a man to Godhead can only be conceived in terms of mythology and hence is entirely pagan.[3] Although the modern Kenoticists endeavor to side step this criticism by refusing to theorize as to the How of a man's acquiring Godhead, they succeed only in refusing to commit themselves and thereby lay themselves open to this objection.

---

[1]Mackintosh, DPJC, 464.
[2]Lewis, JCHQ, 273ff.
[3]Mackintosh, DPJC, 470.

Another criticism contends that the Christ must have carried the Godhead, i.e., Deity, unmodified into the sphere of time.[1] This is, in the first place, unhistorical. He certainly did not have all the attributes and power and fullness of the Godhead or He would have had no one to whom to make supplication. Furthermore, such a conception is theoretically impossible. "It is the paradox of his unique consciousness that he who exists a man knows himself to be God, and he remembers the time when he exercised the attributes of power and knowledge which for the time being he has laid aside. Strange is the manner of being indeed who knows Himself to be God, yet is destitute of the attributes of God."[2] One of the attributes of deity is eternity, and if deity were made to enter the sphere of time there would immediately be presented an insurmountable ob contradiction.

Dorner has also presented a criticism in which he points out that the maintenance of the Logos conception in Christ presents an irreconcilable duality in His personality. He says, "The humanity and the humiliated Logos stand opposed to each in Christ with a parallel development; and since parallels never join, as Dorner is known, nothing at all is done in this theory for the unity of the person. And the self renunciation of the Logos accordingly appears as an idle as well as forcible addition, only adopted to destroy the Trinitarian conception of God. If one member of the Trinity for the time of growth of Christ stooped to mere potentiality, and therefore suspends His preserving and governing activity, the Logos

---

[1] Lewis, JCHQ, 273f.

becomes not merely mutable but also superfluous with reference to the Trinity."[1]

There is much to be said in regard to the value of Christ for our lives if He must be granted something as an endowment which man is unable to attain for himself. Schleiermacher has this weakness in his system of thought. "He explains Christ by an original holiness that he preserved rather than by a holiness that he acquired."[2]

Dorner has also fallen into the same idea with its implications of weakening Christ's example for men. "No longer ago than Dorner it was proposed to understand the incarnation as a perfect union of the human and the Divine by first of all assuming the fact."[3] In the System of Christian Doctrine he says: "Everything by preference points us to begin with the union of the natures instead of with the Ego, Divine or human."[4] If this be true, then Christ had something in His original endowment which is impossible of our duplication.

There is this to be said in defence of Dorner's position, however, If one maintains his view of the nature of God and man the weight of the criticism is lessened. He conceives of God as "The archetype of man."[5] If this be true then man has the same potentiality that Christ had, for man thereby has a share in the incarnation even as Christ had. In this respect, then, Christ can be and is an example to men.

---

[1] Dorner, SCD, III, 265.
[2] Mackintosh, DPJC, 250.
[3] Lewis, JCHQ, 103 n.
[4] Dorner, SCD, III, 313.
[5] Ibid., 253.

In discussing his own position Dorner points to the following as the two factors upon which his system ot thought stands. It is only on the basis of the aforementioned idea of the relation of man and God that such a line of thought can be honestly reconciled to the conception of Christ as endowed with perfection:

> Firstly, the whole newer time is following the lead of the Reformation in emphasizing earnestly the perfectness of the humanity of Christ in body and soul. Secondly: Those are to be excluded who leave nothing unexampled for Christ and forget the self existence of God. The doctrine of universal incarnation of God ignores sin and the need of redemption.[1]

Dorner rejects what he calls the idea of incarnation as a Logical Unio. "This is when the human and Divine become one in knowledge, inasmuch as the Divine nature is conscious of itself in human form and thus knows itself as human, and the human is Divine." He rejects also the idea of Physical Unity whose contention is, "The Divine is the truth of the human, and the human is the realization of the Divine. Since the identity of the two is presupposed, the Divine is thought to be the potency and the human the act." He points out that those who presuppose a distinction between the Divine and human natures require an Ethical Unio in order to bring into the conception any unity. This is also rejected, however, in favor of the idea of the Juridical Unio which he regards as sufficient for an understanding of the problem if it is completely understood. The acceptable idea, then, is this: "Though for the time of growth the distinction of the human side and the Divine may appear strongly this

---

[1]Dorner, SCD, III, 254.

process must have the perfect union, the absolute God-humanity for its goal, and this process must from the commencement start from the fundamental fact of the self communication of God to human nature. Both a Divine act on the part of God and a human act on the part of Jesus. Self communication of the Logos and the open receptiveness of the man are both factors."[1]

There is one major criticism which should be presented in regard to this point of view, however. Dorner is placed in a group of men who in their thinking have rejected the doctrine of the Middle Ages as being too speculative, and more in keeping with the spirit of the scientific movement which is already exerting its influence. Dorner's theory is then out of harmony with his time in that he conceives of a union of the Logos with an impersonal human nature. This moves in the realm of abstract metaphysics, difficult of reach by the minds of men trained in concrete methods of modern science.[2]

Thus it becomes evident that while the fundamental duality of the conception which must be brought into some sort of unity still remains, the lines of thought in regard to it are feeling and searching far afield. The two factors are recognized, but no satisfactory manner of unifying these had appeared.

The doctrine of the two natures had showed that it presented problems impossible of solution. The doctrine of one substance had long since proved ineffective. Men were giving evidence

---

[1]Dorner, SCD, III, 260-261.
[2]Brown, CTO, 339.

that the scientific spirit of the world was to carry away much more of the mythological groundwork of the gospel as it was viewed. It seemed that it remained for those who were to follow shortly to build an impregnable thought system in the place of the ideas produced by the older unscientific approach. One writer has set forth the following as mirroring the problem of Christology from 1800 to the present:

> The Christological problem of the period from 1800 to the present is therefore defined by saying that by the aid of a more correct idea of the nature of God and man, the unity of the person is to be delineated. The common knowledge of the newer Christology is the advance beyond the opposition of the human and the Divine, the acknowledgment of the internal relation of the two to each other, their mutual consistency and compatibility.[1]

It is with this view of the newer problem in mind that we turn to a study of the current expositions of the New Christology, the Christology necessitated by a newly evolved problematic situation in the needs of the world.

A new anthropocentric emphasis in the realm of Christology and the theory of an immanent rather than a transcendent God leads to the attempts to understand the unification of the two into a satisfactory guide for life.

---

[1] Dorner, SCD, III, 252.

CHAPTER IV

CURRENT EXPOSITIONS OF THE NEW CHRISTOLOGY

Changes Necessitating the New Christology

In order to trace the advancement from this point to the present day it is necessary to view certain new developments in modern thought. The first which will come to our attention is this: "A new emphasis on the empirical and historical as a starting point and basis of sound speculation."[1] This has had the effect that would be expected in dealing with a problem in which a personality is concerned. It has led to a very definitely anthropocentric approach to Christology.

The second is a definite turn toward philosophical naturalism. Here again we find the exact influence which we should expect. It has led to a new humanitarianism in Christological speculation. In fact this has been so significant in its effect that there has arisen a reaction in the person and school of Karl Barth.

"The new religious and speculative significance attributed to the moral nature,"[2] is the third influence. Kant's stress upon the primacy of the practical reason has led to a definitely moral conception of the union of Christ with God rather than a metaphysical conception.

---

[1] Knudson, DR, 303.
[2] Ibid., 303.

The fourth influence is probably the most significant. The transition from Platonism to personalism, that is, from universalism to individualism, has had more to do with the new stress on the humanity of Christ and its significance for us today than any other of these factors.[1]

The effect has been that Christological thought has come to affirm the complete humanity of Jesus. That he had a human ego which was the center of his earthly life is one of the basic contentions of the new thought. The second effect which has come out of these contributing factors is the new view of Christ's uniqueness in the world. His unique dependence on God and his equally unique enduement with the Spirit has come to be looked upon as distinguishing him from other men. That his Divinity has come to be ascribed to the completeness of his sense of oneness with God, and his creative activity as founder of the Kingdom of God on earth are likewise outgrowths of comparatively new forces determining the direction which speculation should take in this regard.

It is therefore to view the systems of Christological thought which have been built up under these influences that this study of 'The New Christology' has been undertaken. It could not rightly be called a study of recent Christology, because the systems of thought are more than recent; they are new. They differ essentially in avenue of approach from the older Christological thought.

---

[1] Knudson, Class Lecture Notes, The New Christology.

"The Fullness of Love"

One of the latest presentations in the field of New Christology comes from the hand of John Baillie in his book entitled, The Place of Jesus Christ in Modern Christianity. According to his view the Divinity of Christ lay in "The fullness of Love." Added to Baillie this, however, is a very pragmatic turn. The Divinity of Christ is further distinguished by the unique nature of the work which God accomplished through Him in the souls of men and in the world.

Christ was fully a man. His manhood is never for a moment discredited. He was, as a man, the leader of men and the example unto men in their own kind. Baillie speaks as follows: "We have been regarding our Lord Jesus Christ in His primary significance as the Pioneer of the Christian Faith. But we have all the time been aware that the Brotherhood of His followers have never stopped short with this primary significance but has always, building upon the foundation, gone on to find in Him a significance of a further and deeper kind."[1]

This implies the further understanding of the part played by man. He is not altogether the passive recipient of a favor bestowed on him. "God could never have revealed Himself to men who were not actively seeking to discover Him, and conversely men could never have discovered a God who was not actively seeking to reveal Himself to them."[2] This very thought is much like Schleiermacher's

---

[1] Baillie, PJC, 102.
[2] Ibid., 107.

"vital receptivity by man," passivity equalized to God's activity. This idea when applied to Christ then leads to a more complete understanding of His meaning for men, and the twofold capacity in which he serves:

> On the one hand, He represents the highest point to which our human race has attained. He stands, by Himself alone, at the vanguard of our human search for the Divine. He is altogether one of ourselves, a man among men, a human brother to the lowliest of us, with the same handicaps and the same opportunities. He had His life to make or mar, and His human free-will to make or mar it with. But on the other hand we cannot read the story of Christ's life without its being borne in upon us very strongly that it marks the culmination, not only of our human search for God, but also of God's search for the human heart. This is a story not only of human discovery but of Divine self-impartation. The perfect manhood of Jesus is a gift even more fundamentally than it is an achievement. The deepest sentiment to which it has given rise in the minds of Christians throughout all the ages is not pride nor self-congratulation at something the race has produced, but rather gratitude at something it has received.[1]

Although this has brought out the fundamental relation of God to Christ, yet it does not bring out the uniqueness of Christ for men. It is necessary first to view the position of Baillie in regard to the relation of God to man in order to bring this into clarity. For him, God is nearest to men and is most often revealed to men in the natural processes and the walks of ordinary life. Frenzied moments of ecstatic upheaval hold little significance in the ministries of God, he believes. "We are not to make the mistake that only the unusual or the supernatural reveals God. It has been thought that only in a swoon or a psychopathic state is God in communion with men but now we believe that it is not in the moments

---

[1] Baillie, PJC, 108-109.

"vital receptivity by man," passivity equalized to God's activity. This idea when applied to Christ then leads to a more complete understanding of His meaning for man, and the twofold capacity in which he serves:

> On the one hand, He represents the highest point to which our human race has attained. He stands, by Himself alone, at the vanguard of our human search for the Divine. He is altogether one of ourselves, a man among men, a human brother to the lowliest of us, with the same handicaps and the same opportunities. He had His life to make or mar, and His human free-will to make or mar it with. But on the other hand we cannot read the story of Christ's life without its being borne in upon us very strongly that it marks the culmination, not only of our human search for God, but also of God's search for the human heart. This is a story not only of human discovery but of Divine self-imparation. The perfect manhood of Jesus is a gift even more fundamentally than it is an achievement. The deepest sentiment to which it has given rise in the minds of Christians throughout all the ages is not pride nor self-congratulation at something the race has produced, but rather gratitude at something it has received.[1]

Although this has brought out the fundamental relation of God to Christ, yet it does not bring out the uniqueness of Christ for man. It is necessary first to view the position of Baillie in regard to the relation of God to man in order to bring this into clarity. For him, God is nearest to man and is most often revealed to man in the natural processes and the walks of ordinary life. Frenzied moments of ecstatic upheaval hold little significance in the ministries of God, he believes. "We are not to make the mistake that only the unusual or the supernatural reveals God. It has been thought that only in a swoon or a psychopathic state is God in communion with man but now we believe that it is not in the moments

---

[1] Baillie, F.D., 108-109.

of wildest frenzy that men speak their profoundest utterances."[1] He points out the one major fault as being, "The tendency to find God in the abnormal and exceptional occurences rather than in the ordinary course of things."

One who looks upon the essential goodness of natural things then would be expected to take the position in regard to Christ which we find Baillie occupying. If such a line of thought be followed, the conclusion would be that he who was wholly and completely man, and the only such, was Christ. It is not strange that the uniqueness of such a conception would lie in making Christ's Divinity revealed in His works. "The Christian gospel is that the eternal Mind and Will have at last been fully revealed to us in a Man--Jesus Christ the Man. Not did we find Divinity in the marks in a bull's liver nor in the flight of birds in the patterns they describe in their erratic flight. But now in the fullness of time comes the 'good news' of the Christian gospel. God has been revealed to us in the soul of a man--in that pure love that was the spirit of Jesus of Nazareth, in that simple tale of human goodness that was His life and in that poignant spectacle of human self-abnegation that was His death on the Cross."[2]

If man and all the natural things stand in a position to reveal God, the question then arises as to the uniqueness of Christ's position. Was it simply a matter of degree? Was the experience which made the life of Christ unique totally absent from

---

[1] Baillie, PJC, 110.
[2] Ibid., 114.

the lives of some or all men? Baillie regards the fulfillment of all His possibilities, especially the fullness of love, as marking Christ's life as unexampled and without duplication. A difference in degree does not satisfy his idea of the distinction. "There is a tendency in our time to speak of God's presence in Christ as being different only in degree and not at all in kind from His presence in other men. Surely the very glory and headmark of all living history and living personality is just its uniqueness, its irreducible singularity and unrepeatability, its refusal to conform to any sort of quantative computation of measure or degree."[1]

Such a statement does not, however, define the basis upon which we are to observe the uniqueness and identify it. This Baillie gives in two specific statements. One gives his idea of the reason for man's having seen God in Christ and the other shows the position of Christ in regard to His work in the world;

Jesus' Uniqueness

> We must be careful not to think or speak as if Jesus Christ were the only man in whom God ever revealed Himself at all. He does reveal Himself in us. However in the gospel history there is brought to fulfillment a divine invasion of our human life which is not totally absent from any history. Whenever we see a man showing love to his brother we see God there. Yet when we see Jesus, we see God in Him. Where love is, there God is. And it is because men found in the soul of Jesus Christ the fullness of love, and for no other reason, that they found in Him the whole fullness of God.[2]

The other is more fundamentally a difference in kind. The implication of difference rests not in the matter of degree;

> Christ's divinity is distinguished by the particular

[1] Baillie, PJC, 121.
[2] Ibid., 118.

> and unique nature of the work which thru Him God accomplished in our souls and in the world. In this chapter of history God pleased to do something for struggling humanity which He had never done before.[1]

In meeting the problem presented to the New Christology we find Baillie reconciling the human and Divine in Christ through asserting the essential goodness and hence the divinity of all that is truly natural and without adulteration. According to this view the perfection of the humanity of Christ and the fullness of Love in His life which itself was a revelation of God are identical and hence entertain no fundamental oppostition.

It must be recognized that this sort of view of Christ makes Him and His example very significant for the lives of men. If Christ's uniqueness rested in the completeness with which he realized the possibilities resting within every man, He is especially deserving of emulation. Furthermore, this theory is in perfect harmony with the Spirit of the New Testament, because the key word to the Gospel as it appears in the New Testament is "love." God is a God of love. Therefore, if Christ exemplified perfect love, His life was a revelation of the Father.

The stress upon Christ's work in the world, obviously the establishment of the Kingdom, brings this point of view close to the Kingdom of God Christology of Ritschl.

---

[1] Baillie, PJC, 121. (Italics in both quotations mine.)

"The Indwelling Spirit"

Loofs, in presenting his views in regard to the New Christology, shows still further effect of the thinking of Ritschl and the Kingdom of God concept.

As a starting point he chooses an idea of Kaehler which asserts the divinity of Jesus on the basis of his effect upon men.

"The Divine character of Jesus is not proved by analyzing Loofs His person, not by psychological or physiological investigation, but by pointing to the prophetic, priestly, and kingly influence he exerts upon men."[1] This is an example, also, of the way Calvinism is appearing again and again in modern Christology.

First of all, Christ was a man. He lived the life of a man and walked in the midst of the same temptations that compass us about. If He had not done so He could not be fully an example for us. If He were a mere automaton doing only the good because He could not do evil his significance for us would be greatly lessened. "If Jesus had not been a real man, who lived in this world of ours, he could not have been the beginner of a new mankind nor could he have been our example."[2] One of the salient points in the thinking of Loofs is the fact that Christ was the 'beginner of a new mankind.' This would call for an individual who was truly man.

Presupposed by this, however, is the fact that Christ

---

[1] Martin Kaehler of Halle (1835). See Loofs, WTJC, 234.

[2] Loofs, WTJC, 206.

revealed God to man. If He had not done so, there would have been no excuse for a new mankind.

Loofs does not, however, attempt to limit Christ to being a mere man. He cannot, nor does he wish, to deny that the facts of His life and His influence through the ages attest for Him something greater than mere humanity. Therefore the thing that immediately distinguished Him was His self-consciousness. The Spirit dwelt in Him in perfection, and He was to be the builder of a new mankind whose example He was. The consciousness of this position then furnished enough to distinguish Him. He says:

Jesus' Uniqueness

> The attempts to describe his life as a purely human one have not led to tenable results. They proved to be inadequate from the scientific historical point of view, because they do not allow an unprejudiced appreciation of the sources. Besides they proved inadequate because the assumption that the life of Jesus was a purely human one is disproved by the experiences of believers in all ages. For the self-consciousness of Jesus breaks the frame of a purely human life, and the experiences of believers in all the Christian centuries confirms the assumption that the disciples of Jesus were right in seeing in Him more than a mere man.[1]

If we grant for the sake of consideration that the uniqueness of Jesus lay in His self-consciousness of His position and His mission, let us view the implications of such a consciousness. Historical research shows us a man who is a human being, Jesus Christ. However, although in many respects He was harrassed by the limitations of time, He is pictured by the same historical research in a very different light. He is revealed as, "A man who considered Himself the Messiah promised by God, who was aware that He had much to say

---

[1]Loofs, WTJC, 201.

to the human race in the name of God, who called His death the sacrifice of the New Covenant, who was convinced that He stood in a unique relation to God."[1] It is Loofs' contention in this regard that such a consciousness could not have existed in a mere man. He says, "There is no scope for this self-consciousness of Jesus within the frame of a purely human life."[2] The significance for us is then in showing that we must have faith that Christ was a revelation of God, and secondly, that He shows in His own person what we are to be like.

This contention is certainly supported by the writer of the Fourth Gospel, who portrays Jesus as saying: "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father."[3] Likewise also in the Gospel according to St. Matthew, "No man knoweth the Son save the Father, neither knoweth any man the Father but the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son will reveal Him."[4]

Let us look a little more fully into that of which Jesus was conscious. We have seen that he thought of Himself as the revealer of God to men, and the beginner of a new mankind, but what gave Him such confidence? The answer seems to strike very close to Modalism. Since God Himself is Spirit, He dwells fully in Jesus Christ. The following is Loofs statement of the unique position which Jesus occupied and of which He was conscious. The significant

---

[1] Loofs, WTJC, 206.
[2] Ibid., 207.
[3] John xiv:9.
[4] Matthew xi:27.

point is the indwelling of God as Spirit in His Son;

> The conviction that God dwelt so perfectly in Jesus through His Spirit, as had never been the case before and never will be till the end of time, does justice to what we know historically about Jesus, and may, at the same time, be regarded as satisfactorily expressing the unique position of Jesus which is a certainty of faith. It also justifies our finding God in Christ when we pray to Him.[1]

The writer denies the charge of Modalism, and the explanation which he gives is Paul's expression, that it is all 'The mystery of Christ.'[2] This is a questionable statement. It seems to me that God should be allowed the privilege of revealing Himself again in a comparable degree to any man who is willing to approach the devotion which Christ felt to God's plan. It is questionable that man will again attain these heights, but I see no reason why it should not rest in the range of possibility.

Loofs reversion to the term 'mystery' incurs for him the criticism of Bartlett in the course of a study of later Christologies. The criticism is not an attempt to tear down the system of Loofs, but it points this out as one of the places where he does not finish his task. "Loofs clearly makes the human ego of Christ the self-conscious seat or form of His personality. But he holds that 'We can never penetrate so deep as to learn how God made Him what He was,' namely one possessing unique knowledge of God as Father and the perfect moral holiness (Mt. xi:27; Lk. x:22)."[3]

In summary let us look at the three parts of Loofs' Christology as he presents it in full. He contends:

---

[1]Loofs, WTJC, 238.
[2]Col. iv:3; Eph. iii:4,9.
[3]Bartlett,"The Later Christologies;" See LL, 178.

> First: that the historical person of Christ is looked upon as human personality. Secondly: that this personality, through an indwelling of God or His Spirit, which was unique both before and after, up to the end of all time, became the Son of God who reveals the Father and became also the beginner of a new mankind. Third: that in the future state of perfection a similar indwelling of God has to be realized though in a copied and therefore secondary form in all people whom Christ has redeemed.[1]

How then is he meeting the new problem? For him Christ was truly and fully man who possessed a perfect indwelling of the Spirit of God. His uniqueness lay in this possession and the son consciousness of it. There is here no opposition of two natures in Christ because He was man as we are men and possessed as we are but more. Christ was a man whose life was built upon a human ego enriched by an indwelling Spirit. As 'beginner of a new mankind' He was fully and completely a man.

There is a great deal of value in making the uniqueness of Jesus an achievement. It gives a possibility to the Christian way of life which is otherwise lacking. On the other hand the validating force of the 'Indwelling Spirit' concept is such as to give Christ the authority of God Himself.

---

[1]Loofs, WTJC, 236.

The Historical Jesus and the Christ of the Religious Imagination

In his book, The Survival Value of Christianity, Professor Mecklin of Dartmouth takes an entirely different point of view. In the figure which stands at the center of the Christian religion he sees a fundamental duality. He makes no attempt to reconcile the two factors involved here, the Jesus of history, and the Christ of faith. He contends that all men whom history has pronounced great have enjoyed a dual personality. The one is real and the other is fictitious. "One is the product of the scientific imagination of the historian, and the other is a fiction of the popular imagination."[1]

Mecklin

Such a duality in personality is seen in the conceptions we find today of Plato, Caesar, Alexander, Mahomet, Charlemagne, Luther, and Napoleon. "The figure of Jesus is no exception. We have in reality two persons, the historical Jesus, faintly visible beneath the legendary accumulations of the gospels, and the Christ of the fictions of the religious imagination."[2]

It is not his purpose to discredit the effect of Jesus upon history. Rather he asserts that He is the most stupendous fact of human history. This does not do away with the fact, however, that all we know of Him could be put on but a few printed pages. He says:

---

[1] Mecklin, SVC, 108.
[2] Ibid., 109.

"In the religious imagination of mankind Jesus bulks as large as eternity itself. In the field of historical fact the position of Jesus is infinitesimally small. He was practically unknown to His contemporaries and facts gained by the most meticulous scholarly investigations are meager, incoherent, and fragmentary."[1] The question which naturally follows is then, "Which do men worship--Jesus or the Christ of the imagination?"

Inasmuch as the question is answered by its asking, it is interesting to note the reason given for such a situation. The writer points out that the most important factor in determining the nature of the imaginations which should arise would be the pragmatic pressure of emotional needs. Since He had been directly responsible for His failure with His own people by concealing His Messianic role, there arose a need to preserve through some means His great religious values. He says: "It was far more important to the Christian community that the historical Jesus should symbolize for them all the great religious values for which in the post-resurrection period He had come to stand, than that there should be preserved for posterity a scientific and historically trustworthy account of His life."[2]

Paul as spokesman for the Gentiles had much to do with making Him the Lord of Glory. The Pauline doctrine of salvation through the Cross demands the historicity of the Cross and the humanity of Jesus, but Paul worships the Lord of Glory, not the Son of the carpenter Joseph. Since

The Religious Imagination

---

[1] Mecklin, SVC, 110.

[2] Ibid., 132.

the time of Paul "The world has gained a vast and inestimable addition to its store of symbols of the religious imagination."[1]

This then leads to the central question. It is this problem which Mecklin speaks of as being the central problem of Christianity, "The problem of Jesus or the Christ." Is the essence of Christianity in the historical Jesus or the Christ of the fictions of the religious imagination? Mecklin feels that the facts justify such a distinction, and that which we may assert in regard to the historical Jesus of space and time cannot hold valid for the Lord of Glory of the Christian imagination.

As the concepts back of the symbols of historic Christianity arose out of the emotional needs of the age, so also, "The concepts of God the Father, Christ the Redeemer, the blood atonement, original sin, or the final judgment are after all only symbols and must inevitably be altered or give place to other symbols that better express the religious aspirations of another age."[2]

To the question involving the choice of Jesus or the Christ Mecklin brings four answers, representing four contemporaneous positions. The first is that occupied by the radicals who deny outright the historical Jesus and assert that Christianity originated in a Christ-myth similar to contemporary pagan myths of savior deities. The second position is that occupied by the orthodox Catholic and Protestant groups which claims for both equal historical validity, thanks to the supernaturalism that sanctions

Jesus in the Christ

[1] Mecklin, SVC, 132.
[2] Ibid., 166.

them.

The third answer comes from the group which may be described as the Catholic Modernists, and the Protestant Liberals. Representative of this group are such scholars as Harnack and Bousset of Germany who insist that, "The historical facts as to the life and teachings of Jesus should be made the basis of Christianity."[1]

The fourth position contains the group who call themselves Modernists and fall back on Cardinal Newman as their spiritual father. They contend that, "The religious symbols of one age can never be effectively utilized by another different age without being modified.... True Christianity is a living, growing organism whose vitality is evinced in the effective way in which it adapts itself to the needs of succeeding ages."[2] It is with this group that Mecklin seems to identify himself. He points out that whereas the Liberal stresses facts, the Modernists stress values.

His position is better understood if we take a moment to look at what he has to say in regard to the place of religion in modern life. "It should be clear that religion has certain necessary limitations which grow out of its very nature. Religion cannot be trusted to give us that exact knowledge which we get from science. Religion cannot give us the insight into the nature of ultimate reality, which is the task of philosophy. The reason is that religion deals with fictions of the imagination, symbols whose function is not to give usexact knowledge, but to make possible the objectification

---

[1] Mecklin, SVC, 169-171.
[2] Ibid., 169-171.

of inner experiences of value."[1]

It is clear that he faces the new problem in a unique way. There is no problem of bringing together the two aspects of the founder of Christian faith. The one for him has great histocial value, and the other, the Christ, the group of fictions of the religious imagination, can and must be changed unceasingly to fit the succeeding ages. For Mecklin Christianity is a group of symbols to be used as vehicles for the objectification of inner experiences of value and nothing more. Jesus lived, but that was all.

---

[1] Mecklin, SVC, 241.

"The Lord of Life"

In a Symposium entitled The Lord of Life we find presented the conceptions of various present day writers such as J.Vernon Bartlett, and D. Miall Edwards. There are others presented, but these two are representative of the trends portrayed.

Dr. Bartlett identifies himself with the position taken by the church in the Christological controversy. He does not view the Divinity of Christ as having appeared at any given moment, but as a result of growth. It seems to take account of the Bartlett doctrine of 'emergent evolution,' and is closely related to the point of view of Dorner. Divinity for Christ is not something given at the start of His earthly career but it was something achieved by His life's action. According to this view, Bartlett asserts with Dr. Temple that God and man are personally one.

The question that arises is, 'To which aspect of Christ's morally self-realized personality does His self-conscious ego properly belong, to the Divine or human?' In order to bring an answer to this question Bartlett brings as exemplary of his position the answer of Rashdall: "Dr. Rashdall with his uncompromising sense of the distinctness of human personality--as a moral self-consciousness not to be absorbed into personality in God under any mode of His being--placed the seat of Christ's personality decidedly in His humanity."[1]

He further asserts with Dr. Raven, presupposing the modern

---

[1]Andrews, Bartlett, etc., LL, 180.

idea of personality both in God and man, "at once the unique Divinity of Jesus and His full manhood. His relation to us will be that of 'perfect round' to the broken arcs. Incarnation will differ from inspiration but in degree and not in kind. In Jesus will be the fullness of the Logos of which we, by virtue of our humanity, possess what Justin Martyr called seeds."[1]

> In this light the filial personality of Christ, as at once the Son of Man and the Son of God, is the archetype of the new and true humanity after the Divine creative idea and purpose, yet an archetype realized under particular forms, as a real human personality must be.[2]

This position is best understood in the light of the writer's essential view of Incarnation. "The Incarnation of Christ is the special climax of a Divine purpose of Incarnation of which humanity itself is the general or cosmic expression."[3]

For Bartlett Christ's personality, differing only in degree and not in kind from that of other men, still towers over the ages, unchanging and self-evidencing, uniquely human, uniquely Divine. It is here that Christ is revealed as the Lord of Life:

> In that He is the supreme historic source of the Holy Spirit. From His personality radiates full motive power to live as children of God, ruling creatively all the forces of nature around and within us, so that they subserve rather than frustrate the ends of personality--itself the final end alike for God and man. So seen Christ is the revelation of true manhood no less than of true Godhead, of a manhood as universal and eternal in quality as God, its kindred source. As the universal ideal of humanity realized in an individual man, the second and 'life-giving' Adam, He is unique, the Son of Man:

---

[1] Andrews, Bartlett, etc., LL, 182.
[2] Ibid., 183.
[3] Ibid., 179.

> and as such, He is also the Son of God, the proper object of devotion and adoration for the failing and sinful sons of men.[1]

The new problem is met here by asserting that Christ is the climax of the cosmic process of inspiration and Incarnation of which man is representative of a state of less complete perfection. The end and ultimate of personality, alike in God and man, is Divinity.

Dr. D.Miall Edwards also presents in this Symposium that which he considers to be an adequate Christology in Modern Terms.

Edwards

The first contrast which he sees between the older and the newer Christologies lies in the interest in the Jesus of history. The older Christology had no interest in the man Jesus. It was solely concerned with the fact that the life was fundamentally of one nature with the Father and hence essentially God.

> The character, teaching, and personal life of Jesus really counted for comparatively little in the older Christology... The modern attempt is to start from the character of Jesus as something concrete, which we can apprehend and appreciate experimentally....The ancients defined Christ in terms of God as they conceived Him speculatively; we define God in terms of Christ as we know Him historically. The older theology started from God and proceeded to say in effect, 'Christ is like that.' Today with our more empirical and historical methods, we start with the assumption that we know Jesus better than we know God apart from Jesus, and proceed to say: 'God must be like that.' Appreciation of His character and human personality must fill a larger place in the Christology of the future than it has done in that of the past.[2]

Secondly, Christ possessed human personality. "A belief

---

[1] Andrews, Bartlett, etc., LL, 184.

[2] Ibid., 207-208.

in his true and full humanity is fundamental."[1] He had an ordinary human consciousness, and was subject to human limitations and ordinary laws of human life. "He was born and died, grew in body and mind, shared in the traditional views of His age on matters of secular knowledge, attained increasing knowledge and experience by the ordinary human channels, learned obedience by the things which He suffered, was the subject of real temptation yet without sin, and in His religious life He perfectly manifested a human type of piety (prayer in a sense of dependence on God, filial communion with Him and submission to His will)."[2]

Thirdly, without detracting from His full humanity, it must be noted that the historical Jesus was associated in a wholly unique way with God. The two factors which especially affiliate Him with God are these: His uniquely intimate knowledge and experience of God; and His attitude of authority and sovereignty. The first implies that the God-consciousness was indeed the central and characteristic feature of His consciousness. His God-consciousness colored His whole life and experience. His filial consciousness was not something external but it took the form of consciousness of sonship in relation to God. The second, his attitude of authority and sovereignty, finds its expression thus: "From the sense of the uniqueness of His filial relationship to the Father, came to Him the sense of unique function or vocation in relation to the Kingdom of God."[3]

The fourth point to be noted is that Jesus did not make

---

[1] Andrews, Bartlett, etc., LL, 208.

[2] Ibid., 209.

[3] Ibid., 210.

any mistake in identifying Himself with God. "Jesus, though clearly associated with God in His filial experience and in His sense of vocation in ralation to the Kingdom, did not identify Himself with God in the sense of thinking of God and Himself as one and the same Being. He thought and spoke of God as of Another. He pointed beyond Himself to the Father, Lord of Heaven and Earth."[1]

A complete understanding of the powition of Dr. Edwards must include a view of his idea in regard to the Incarnation. He does not view Incarnation as miracle at the time of Christ but as the result of a great eternity-spanning movement. "There is an element of time in God's eternal life, and an element of eternity in man's temporal life. The Infinite and the finite are ever drawing towards each other. The Incarnation is the perfect fulfillment of these two movements, man to Godward and God toward man. It is a progressive spiritual achievement, not a mechanical act complete from the first."[2]

If this movement were in progress at all times and in a greater or less degree in all individuals, then it would seem that the difference between man and Christ rests solely in matter of degree. Are those who have attained lofty heights of spiritual experience and fellowship with God of the same essential kind as Christ Himself? Dr. Edwards' reply is as follows:

> A difference of degree may be so great as to amount to a difference in kind, as seems to be the case between the higher animals and man. According to the testimony of the New Testament and of Christian experience generally, the type of

---

[1] Andrews, Bartlett, etc., LL, 210.

[2] Ibid., 192.

> life found perfectly in Him is of the same quality as that which He communicates to members of His spiritual community -- 'That He might be the first born among many brethren' (Rom. viii:29; Heb. ii:17). Yet is His Divine Sonship unique in that His is the original and creative Sonship, while the Sonship of all others is derived from Him and mediated through Him. Moreover, we believe that the revelation of God in Christ is unique in the sense that in Him the diffused rays of the Divine Self-revelation were gathered into an intense and luminous focus in an historical Person, and that the fullness of the Divine righteousness andlove were embodied in Him in such a way that men beheld in Him a 'Glory as of the only begotten of the Father.'"[1]

In this view of Incarnation man is faced with the highest conception in regard to himself and his most illimitable possibilities.

Christ's Divinity expressed in Modern terms, as evolved from this idea of Incarnation, involves the nature of God and Christ, His agent in the Kingdom;

Christ's Divinity in Modern Terms

> We must think of God not as a static entity but as a living and dynamic Spirit in whom abides all personal and ethical values. 'God is Love.' 'God is Spirit.' God is rational moral purpose finding its culmination in the perfect commonwealth of Spirits which Christ called the Kingdom of God, and Paul called the Family of God. And Christ, too, must be defined in the same terms. He was one with the Father in character, in purpose, and in love. It is doubtful whether the union of the Son with the Father can be expressed in higher or richer terms than in terms of harmony of mind and spirit, identity of conscious purpose, complete mutual understanding and fellowship and cooperation, community of values.[2]

The new problem is taken care of here by the fact that Christ's humanity in perfection made him unique, and places Him in the position of a beginner of a Kingdom of God among other men. According to this view His Divinity was not incompatible with His humanity, but was rather the perfect realization of all the potentialities of His humanity. The idea of great importance is that his potentialities were the same as those with which humanity has endowed us.

---

[1] Andrews, Bartlett, etc., LL, 230. [2] Ibid., 217.

Jesus' Subliminal Self

In the thinking of Dr. Sanday the fact that has been used to help explain the dualism of ordinary human nature has been called upon also to serve as the seat of the Deity of the Incarnate Christ, namely, the subliminal consciousness.

A statement from Augustine seems to have formed the basis for the system of thought which he has built up in this regard. "A man," said Augustine, "contains something which not even the spirit of the man, which is in him, knows."[1] It is from the Sanday "abysmal depths of human consciousness" that the Divinest and most transforming aspirations emerge into our consciousness as inspirations.

Coupled with this idea is the conception presented by William James in which he says: "There exists a more comprehensive consciousness (than the supreliminal consciousness) a profounder faculty, which for the most part remains potential only so far as regards the life of the earth, but from which the consciousness and the faculty of earth-life are mere selections."[2] Through a bringing together of this idea of James and the basis as furnished by Augustine Sanday attempts to view Christ in terms of these ideas applied to ordinary human life.

Besides the upper stratum of consciousness in the ordinary

---

[1] Andrews, Bartlett, etc., LL, 182.

[2] James, Human Personality, 13. See Sanday, CAM, 140.

person there is a lower region into which the conscious mind cannot enter. However, the mind does possess a strange magnetic power by which certain contents of the lower region are at times attracted to the surface.

Inasmuch as he assumes with William James that "The subconscious self is nowadays a well-accredited psychological entity," he feels free to state the following as his propositions: "The proper seat or locus of all divine indwelling, or divine action upon the human soul, is the subliminal consciousness; and the same or corresponding subliminal consciousness is the proper seat or locus of the Deity of the Incarnate Christ."[1]

The Subconscious Self

In support of these propositions he builds his case as follows:

> If we look into ourselves, this is what we shall see. There is an impulse to right action, and we act; there is an impulse to prayer and we pray; there is an impulse toward thanksgiving and we give thanks; there is above all that central impulse of faith, the impulse as it were to take hold of God in Christ and cling fast to Him, so that no outward deterrent, no other conflicting attraction can loosen the hold. We feel that all these promptings come from a hidden source within us.[2]

By direct transfer then the same is held to be true of Christ. "Now it seems to me that the analogy of our human selves can at least be transferred to the Incarnate Christ. If whatever we have of the Divine must pass through a strictly human medium, the same law would hold good for Him."[3]

---

[1] Sanday, CAM, 159.
[2] Ibid., 164.
[3] Ibid., 165.

Such a means of conceiving of the personality of Christ gives opportunity for preserving all that in Christ which is human, while at the same time asserting that His human life was directly continuous with the Life of God Himself. Upon this basis it is possible for Christ to assert that God is greater than He, because Hi Himself has assumed the concretions of His relation to the Father which are implicated in His assumption of the flesh. The preservation of the values of the Divine and human is described as follows:

> The advantage of this way of conceiving of the Person of Christ is that it leaves us free to think of His life on earth as fully and frankly human, without at the same time fixing limits for it which confine it within the measures of the human; it leaves an opening, which in any case must be left, by which the Deity of the Incarnate preserves its continuity with the infinitude of Godhead.[1]

The conscious self is thus limited to its proper place as a limited part of the whole Self.

To the thinking of Sanday the disjunctive question, 'Jesus or Christ' is nonsensical. In his system of thought such a distinction is not made. The two are not mutually exclusive but are mutually complementary. He points out that when Jesus Christ the name Jesus Christ is written with a hyphen that there is a terrific load placed on the hyphen. "The two significant halves of that significant Name must not be separated but combined."[2] Many in the past have attempted to rest upon the Christ without any care for the man Jesus. Today there is a strong tendency to discredit the Divine in favor of a study of Jesus' principles as a man, with a

---

[1] Sanday, CAM, 166.

[2] Ibid., 199.

view toward their adoption in modern life.

The mistake that has come to us out of the past is that of making too great a distinction between the human and the Divine in Christ. With the rise of the new psychological view of the unity of all personality, however, it is only natural that these principles of unity be applied to the personality of Christ.

Although to many the problem of how the necessary thoughts and emotions are called forth from the subliminal self at the advantageous time has presented insurmountable difficulty, yet it is true that the thought system here presented does strive for a unification of Jesus and Christ into a useful Self, capable of being worshipped. And a study of the man Jesus in terms of our own selves is at least one valid method of approach. Christ Jesus truly assumes His role of example of men, and revealer of God.

Sanday points out that holding to the human or Divine nature of Jesus Christ needs weaken or restrict neither in favor of the other. "On the contrary, our real duty and our real policy is to emphasize fearlessly both sides at once: our Lord Jesus Christ is at one and the same time truly human and truly Divine. And the analogy of our own nature shows us more clearly than anything else how this can be."[1]

To view this system of thought is to see Sanday's answer to the new problem. There is no conflict in the natures of Christ, but they must be asserted to be coexistent and coimportant. This is

---

[1]Sanday, CAM, 211.

simply an expression of the two-nature doctrine couched in modern terms. There is the possible improvement lying in an assertion of their identity of essence. Christ Jesus is significant because He is both Christ and Jesus.

The chief criticism which I should launch against this point of view is that it does violence to the self-consciousness of Jesus, a factor which must be recognized in Jesus' own teaching. If Jesus was not conscious of the power of God which was resident in Him, He could not have attempted the tasks which He did, requiring more than the strength of mere man. Jesus' self-consciousness, which this theory would render unconsciousness, was one of the great factors in His person.

"There Is One Mediator"

Christ stands as the Son of God and the Son of Man, the one mediator between God and man, God manifest in the Flesh, for Dr. Edwin Lewis in his Jesus Christ and the Human Quest.

The first in importance of the controversial points is that which involves the manhood of Jesus. Any system of thought which does not assert His complete manhood is not doing justice to the facts.

Lewis

If the manhood of Jesus is denied His significance as an example for men is done away. He was born son of Mary and grew and suffered as other individuals. We have no right to assume that hatred of enemies and love of friends alike did not enter His lot. The reality of His moral trial and the reality of His humanity are bound up together. "We must save the reality of His humanity, and to do this we must save the reality of His moral trial."[1] In order that the moral trial be saved we must assert the reality of His temptation, and He was not able to be tempted unless he had 'learned obedience by the things which He suffered.' This would imply a normal human life.

This does not mean that He did sin. On the contrary we cannot deny this historic fact that He did not sin. Our rejoicing rather lies in the fact that Divine intimacy was His. "Through this

---

[1] Lewis, JCHQ, 310.

divine intimacy he at once learned the secret of holiness and found access to its one all-sufficient source. The holiness of Jesus was divine in its quality, but it was equally truly human in its method. He stood in such a relation to God that the quality was possible, just as he stood in such a relation to men that the method was inevitable. When we stand in the presence of a man by whom holiness such as God's is was achieved and maintained in conditions that did not guarantee it of themselves, then, indeed, is the Divine revealed."[1]

This brings us to the second part of Lewis' thought, The manhood of Jesus, while being important, is not sufficient. "Any representation of Christianity which eliminates from the work and person of Christ the specific activity of the Divine cannot do justice to the total facts."[2] Christ is here presented as being more than a Teacher, and Christianity is more than an ethic. "It is a religion of redemption, and it is that because of what Christ was and because of what he did. But if what Christ was and did somehow constitutes him the world's Redeemer because he thereby accomplished a deliverance or made possible a deliverance in which all men may share, we must suppose that his action was more than the action of a 'good man,' and that in his Person he was more than simply another member of the race. He must be related to God and must be related to Him in a way such as was never true in any other case."[3]

The manifestation of God in Christ was therefore a Divine achievement;

---

[1]Lewis, JCHQ, 310.
[2]Ibid., 291.
[3]Ibid., 292.

> The completely human is the Divine made manifest, and the Divine made manifest is the completely human. Once for all it stands revealed on the field of time and history--that man is essentially akin to God...This revelation is made in Jesus Christ. There was a human life through which this could be done, and there was a Divine purpose to do it when the securing of such a life denoted that the fullness of time had come. By the very necessities of the case, such a life is at once human and Divine.[1]

Such a life was that of Jesus, and therefore such was His revelation to man.

Such a possibility on the part of Jesus must not be conceived, however, as having come all at once. On the other hand, it must be thought of as being the result of growth. The holiness which was His was a result of a life time spent in achieving it. It is for this reason that Calvary is of more significance than Bethlehem:

> The Son of God was not the little lad who played in the streets of Nazareth, but the despised and rejected man of sorrows who bowed His head before the furious onslaught of the world's sin because he saw that only as sin slew Him could it break its own power by bringing to light the omnipotence of Holy Love. But until that was brought to light, God was not fully manifest, and the possibility of human redemption was not for all time secured. He does not cease to be Jesus the Son of Mary because He has become 'The Christ of God'--for He is everlastingly one of us.[2]

The uniqueness of Jesus lies in the fact that He is mediator between God and man. He is not to be considered as the only one who has ever revealed God to man. This is not necessary to His uniqueness. "It is a strange delusion to suppose that we cannot keep Jesus Christ

Mediator between God and Man

---

[1] Lewis, JCHQ, 296.
[2] Ibid., 319.

in His rightful place except by ousting others from theirs."[1] It would be difficult to see how God could incur interest in the redemption of men at the time of Christ if He had not had such an interest and made some such steps at other time in history.

The other phase of the problem of Jesus to which Lewis gives himself is that involved in the eternity of the Son of God. He points out that much has been done to obscure the richness of this concept by trying to maintain some preexistent state of the Logos. The reducing of this idea to a bare concept of temporality has robbed it of its significance. When viewed in its right light, however, it becomes infinitely rich. To all appearances the sacrificial act for the purpose of showing God's love to the world was made all at once, but it represents something equally eternal with the nature of God. That is, the spirit which behind the sacrifice. This, being a part of the nature of God, exists eternally with the Father as a part of His very existence. The spirit which prompted this sacrifice is "integral to God's very nature and is eternally present there."

Lewis then makes the harmony of the two elements in the nature of Jesus Christ lie in the perfection of both. The perfection of His life as Son of Man constituted in itself Sonship to God, and Sonship to God finds its only perfect manifestation in perfect human Sonship.

---

[1] Lewis, JCHQ, 320.

Christ's life, His action, His experience, His sacrifice, His death, and His final triumph were at once both human and Divine. If all this is true, then one other statement becomes inevitable: "The consciousness of such a life is at once human and Divine consciousness."[1]

This point of view is most nearly true to the spirit of the new age. It accepts and interprets the facts of history in the light of the transition from Platonism to personalism, with central emphasis on the supreme worth of human personality. That the completely human is the divine made manifest is a new concept. It had never appeared in the speculative doctrines. It gives reminiscence of the Adoptianist point of view, but the new stress upon every man's opportunity brings a new universality into the potentiality for the Divine. Christ's revelation presents the greatest challenge ever placed before man.

One of the points of special merit in this system is the way in which the concept of the "eternity of the Son" is preserved. Christ's eternity is a factor in his nature which many people would be reluctant to relinquish.

---

[1]Lewis, JCHQ, 296.

The Consciousness and Dependence Theory

As the problem is conceived by Dr. A.C. Knudson in his new book, The Doctrine of Redemption, the turn from traditional Christology has presented a demand for "A more historical, Knudson a more empirical, a more anthropocentric, a more ethical, and a more personalistic approach to the problem."[1]

The changes which need to be made, therefore, to bring Christology to date are three. According to the first of these changes there comes an affirmation of the complete humanity of Jesus. Perfection of manhood was affirmed by the Chalcedonian Creed, but "So long as self consciousness and selfhood were not included in his human nature it is evident that his manhood was not complete."[2] Jesus must of necessity have had a human ego to have been truly human.

It is not to be thought that this discredits Divinity in His case. On the other hand His Divinity is affirmed immediately upon asserting the character of His uniqueness. We are all dependent upon God, it is true, but the uniqueness of Jesus lay in the completeness of this dependence:

> The dependence varies with different individuals, and varied to an extraordinary degree in the case of Jesus. He was dependent upon God, as are all men, but at the basis of His life there was a unique divine creative activity that made His metaphysical relation to God different from that of other men. This difference did not consist in his possession of a divine 'nature' or substance but in the special mode of operation of the immanent divine will upon which he was dependent.[3]

---

[1] Knudson, DR, 318.
[2] Ibid., 319.
[3] Ibid., 321.

The uniqueness of Jesus may also, however, be conceived in that mode common to religious thinking, i.e., that the Divine Spirit was present in Him in an unprecedented degree. "We may then think of Christ as uniquely dependent upon God and also standing in a unique relation of reciprocal interaction with the Divine Spirit. In both respects God may be thought of as Incarnate in Him."[1]

Divinity in the Divine Will

The third change to which the newer Christology brings attention has to do with the nature of Jesus' Divinity. The new stress upon the humanity of Jesus puts upon Him the limitations imposed by the flesh. Now, therefore, "The divinity of Jesus is grounded in the divine will rather than the divine nature, and was thought of as grounding itself in a heightened human consciousness rather than in a type of experience alien to that of normal humanity. The evidence of it was consequently sought, not in the miraculous deeds that he performed nor in the miraculous events that accompanied his birth and death, nor in his own claim to divinity, but in his filial consciousness, in his sinlessness, in his spiritual authority, and in his redeeming power."[2]

In order to understand fully the possibility of Christ's divinity expressed thus we must look at the nature of redemption as conceived by the same thought system. Without such an understanding, one of the most important phases of a study of the nature and meaning

---

[1]Knudson, DR, 322.

[2]Ibid., 323.

of Christ passes unnoticed. In the Christian order of redemption there are three phases which are significant. The first is that redemption is not limited to either the individual or the universal but takes complete cognizance of both. "The Kingdom of God was a kingdom of the redeemed of all nations and classes and ages, and a kingdom in which each member retained his own independence and individuality."[1] The second is likewise important. The New Testament conception views redemption as present as well as future and past. The nature of redemption in relation to Christ to which we have attached ourselves demands a present value for the redemptive process. In the thinking of some, redemption was accomplished only at the time of the death of the 'sacrifice' on the cross. For others redemption is viewed only in an eschatological sense. Neither of these views, however, is valid for the new problem nor have they a place in the New Christology. "If redemption is a moral and spiritual event, there is no good reason why it should be postponed to the future. It may be real here and now, and the past redemption effected through the death and resurrection of the Christ may also be regarded as re-enacted within the present experience of the believer."[2] The third phase of the redemptive idea that is of importance here is the way in which it is linked with the Person of Christ. How we are saved is a point of controversy, "but on the fact that he is the author of our salvation there has been universal agreement among Christian believers."[3] Redemption comes ultimately

---

[1] Knudson, DR, 289.
[2] Ibid., 279.
[3] Ibid., 280.

from God, and Christ is the revealer of God to men. On this basis alone he would be the author of our salvation. To detach the doctrine of redemption from the Person of Christ would be to detach it from the very thing that has convinced the world of its necessity.

The theory of consciousness and dependence in summary is this:

> From the modern point of view the tendency is to think of the divine presence as manifesting itself in his unique religious consciousness and his unique spiritual power. This consciousness and power were due to a unique reciprocal interaction between the free spirit of Jesus and the Divine Spirit; and hence it may be said with Schleiermacher that these unique and creative qualities in Jesus' life were 'a veritable existence of God in him.'[1]

The new problem is met here by asserting that there is no incongruity of the two elements in Christ's nature. His uniqueness was the perfection of the dependence the potentiality for which lies within every individual. The effectiveness of the power thereby achieved was wrought through the completeness of the consciousness within Christ of the communion which was His with the Father.

This theory is for my thinking very satisfying if I am allowed to make one additional specification. There needs to be, it seems to me, greater stress placed upon the constructive side of Jesus' life and activity than is necessitated by the Consciousness and Dependence Theory. The stress which Ritschl placed on the creative side of Jesus' life, his part in the founding of the Kingdom of God, makes more adequate provision for this than does the

---

[1] Knudson, DR, 324.

Consciousness and Dependence Theory.

If Absoluteness is to be thought of as an attribute of deity, and if it is to be expressed in terms of creativity, then some creative power must rest in Christ if he is to be acknowledged to be the Incarnation of Absolute Deity. Ritschl's provision for this expression in relation to the Kingdom makes very adequate disposition of this necessity to the completeness of Christ.

New Christology in Brief

In bringing a criticism of the older Christology, Dr. Brown has brought the following interesting concept which serves to bring out the nature of the new Christology: "The true criticism to which the old Christology is open is not that it was philosophical in character but that it was based upon a philosophy which too often ignored instead of interpreting the facts of history which it professed to explain."[1] The new Christology starts with the interpretation of the facts of history. The historical Christ is the center of interest and significance.

Christ stood as an individual whom a man nearly two thousand years later could denote the 'Fullness of Love' of the Father because of the sort of life he lived, and the sort of impression he made upon the men of his age. Without the historical account of a life such as is preserved for us we should not know that this concept possessed such great validity as a way of life. The love of God is a power unto divinity for it is a divine attribute.

There is a great deal to be said in behalf of the mystical approach to the problem of religion. The "Indwelling Spirit' is the sort of concept which makes the Christian experience rich in spiritual content. Loofs' stress upon the manhood of Jesus, 'that He was a real man, who lived in this world,' makes the possibility for

---

[1] Brown, CTO, 327.

every man a matter of great significance. Christ's self consciousness receives here an emphasis which gives this idea a place of importance in the understanding of Jesus. We have an opportunity to achieve this Spirit in an intermediary manner through Christ, our spiritual origin.

One of the very interesting contributions is that of Mecklin in his statement that there has been an ever growing store of religious symbolism through the ages, and that the Christ of Faith is one of these. The Christ of Faith is a fiction of the religious imagination in regard to one whose life has had more effect upon the life of men since His day than any other man. This 'stupendous fact of human history' is a tribute to the sort of life around which such a concept would be likely to grow. The chief value that I see here besides the poetic concept of Christ, is the fact that it places upon Christianity of being a growing, changing factor in the life of men, which is never outmoded because its very nature is in keeping with the age in which it stands. Its vitality as a way of life "is evinced in the effective way in which it adapts itself to the needs of the succeeding ages."

That Christ stands as the archetype of man, and hence as the 'Lord of Life' is a concept which should have great meaning for those who view humanity as a whole rather than possessing an interest in the individuals who compose it. In the thinking of Dr. Edwards again we find the emphasis upon the self-consciousness

of Jesus, and his place as founder of the Kingdom.

As I see it the great value to be derived from the idea presented by Dr. Sanday is the fact that there resides in every man powers that he knows not of. Man possesses powers he never uses, and he finds that there appear within his life ideas and actions which he realizes must have come out of his inner self, but the source for which he cannot precisely trace.

One of the finest concepts comes to us in the fact that man, in completeness and perfection, is a manifestation of the Divine. This is a supreme statement of the supreme worth of the human personality. Here again we find this accomplished through the perfection of the self consciousness of the man who saw the communion between himself and God to be complete.

The additional strength which the Consciousness and Dependence theory brings here is that it places stress upon the dependence of the will also upon God. Consciousness is not sufficient as a guide to a productive life. There must be will also to vitalize the concepts which Consciousness of God presents. Jesus stands before us as the example of the completeness which this self-consciousness and dependence can attain; and furthermore it is an example of the productivity of which this consciousness and dependence is capable when followed to its logical ultimate.

Schleiermacher's Consciousness, and Ritschl's Kingdom Founder concepts are producing systems of thought which are vital to the life of men for the twentieth century. Christ has become the Jesus of history, rightly interpreted as the Christ of Faith.

CONCLUSION

Christ's divinity is expressed in modern terms then as follows: "We must think of God not as a static entity but as a living and dynamic Spirit in whom abides all personal and ethical values. 'God is Spirit.' 'God is Love.' God is rational and moral purpose finding its culmination in the perfect commonwealth of spirits which Christ called the Kingdom of God and Paul called the Family of God. And Christ too must be defined in the same terms. He was one with the Father in Character, in purpose, and in love. It is doubtful whether the union of the Son with the Father can be expressed in higher or richer terms than in terms of harmony of mind and spirit, identity of conscious purpose, complete mutual understanding, fellowship, cooperation, and community of values."[1]

The question has arisen as to whether such a conception of the divinity and uniqueness of Christ unfits him to be our example. It seems to me rather that this makes him the more nearly perfectly an example for us because of the added humanitarian interest which tends to bring him more completely into our ken.

There are three considerations which, if understood, make it very clear that Christ's being our example is a necessity of this conception of his person. The first is this: "Jesus continued constantly to examplify the God way of life." This fits

---

[1] Edwards, "Christ's Divinity in Modern Terms," Andrews, Bartlett, etc., LL, 217.

him unquestionably to be an example unto man. The second is, "Jesus created in man a love for the moral life." This combines his example and the attractiveness with which the example is presented. His third right to be man's example lies in the fact that "He transmitted to man the power to realize this perfect, moral, God way of life."[1] If Christ stands before the eyes of men as the supreme example unto new life, the power to realize which he himself provides, he justifies the implications of Incarnation. He is good, He is a person, and He is absolute. If these be the attributes of God, then Christ stands before men, fully and completely God, and yet, at the same time, very man.

"For there is one God,
One mediator also between God and man,
Himself man, Christ Jesus."
(I Timothy 2:5)

---

[1] Knudson, DR, 329.

SUMMARY

In comparatively recent years there has arisen a type of Christological thinking which must be regarded as new. It is more than recent; it is new. Many influences may be seen to have contributed to the production of this change. Such factors as the reinvestigation of the facts about the life of Jesus, and a new realization of His humanity may be seen to be productive of a type of theory about Christ which differed from the older metaphysical speculative systems. Likewise a better understanding of the subjective conditions of knowledge has led to a discrediting of the uncritical ontology which lay at the basis of the older theories, and has substituted for the purely transcendent God of the earlier systems a God who is also immanent.

When we look at the history of thought about Jesus' person and place in the theology of the world we find first that He stood as the fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy concerning the Messiah who should come to deliver the Israelite nation. Further than this, however, Jesus was His own validation. The impression which was left on the minds of his followers while He was with them and after He had made His departure was that which prompted those who knew Him to begin to speculate about His real nature. He seemed possessed of powers beyond those possessed by the men about Him.

This factor combined with the Kingdom of God concept which He left with them, a Kingdom which should come very soon, caused them to attempt to understand His relation to the source of all power. Jesus claimed that through His going to the Father there should be provision made for those who were members of the Kingdom.

In the Apostolic Fathers, that group of writers and writings which followed close upon Jesus retirement from the world, there begins to appear traces of speculation very definitely formulated about the nature of the Christ. Some thought that He was a man in whom dwelt the spirit of God fully, a man who had been taken into the Godhead and adopted as the Son because of the merits which He had achieved. There were others who felt that Christ was something Divine dwelling upon the earth in a sort of body, empowered by its own inward nature, the pneuma of God.

The Gnostic contention that Christ was the Revealer of the Perfect Knowledge, which was God, came upon the world about this time, rising out of the current halo surrounding knowledge for its own sake. All truth was Divine, and if Christ came to reveal truth, as the Perfect Revealer, then He was a part of the governing force of the universe.

To this the Church reacted very vehemently, however, and the Apologists wrote extensively to show that knowledge was not the only true reality, and that Christ had a higher mission than the revelation of mere barren truth. In the writings of Justin, for

example, we find somewhat complete expressions of the Logos doctrine in an attempt to controvert the Gnostic position.

With Irenaeus and the other Greek thinkers we find appearing a very highly speculative doctrine of the Christ as the recapitulation of the creation. Christ was a God-man who served the world as the agent of the Redemptive process instituted by God. Some thought of the Divine element in Christ as merely the power of God resting in a man, while others contended for a sort of docetism in which the Godhead was conceived as being all in Christ. The earthly appearance was therefore thought of as being a temporary depotentiation of the Godhead while Christ was coming through the various stages of growth, allowing God to come again into ability to govern the world, His own creation.

In the work of Origen and Tertullian are brought up the doctrinal points of eternal generation, unity of essence, and distinction of persons, which led to the Creed established at the Nicene council as the outgrowth of the work of Athanasius. The fourth to the seventh centuries felt the brunt of the Christological speculation...at times it seems almost as if Christ became lost in the systems of thought about Himself and His person.

Athanasius felt that man needed fundamentally a man to dwell and work among creatures like himself in order that he could see clearly and certainly the God who was Father of all. Therefore, for Athanasius Christ stood first of all as a man. He did not, however,

lose sight of the value to be gained from a contemplation of the person of Christ. It is strange, in the light of these facts, that the Nicene Creed replaced the 'Logos' idea with the idea of Christ as the 'Son' of God. Christ stood as the Son of God the Father of all mankind.

Such a simple relation to God was not to be accepted fully by Christ's followers. We therefore see the Monophysite and Monothelite contentions appearing according to which views Christ's unity is sought. They were not satisfied with the Two-Nature doctrine of the Chalcedonian Creed. Man was not able to see in another man two natures, indivisible yet unconfused. The terminology again seems to be intruded between the essential value of Christ's life and example and those who were attempting to follow it.

Augustine went further in taking the emphsis from the combination in one man of the finite and the infinite, the mortal and the immortal. He saw value in all these considerations only as they had meaning for the matters of sin, moral goodness, and blessedness in the life of the individual. As the Middle Ages proceeded Christ again became lost in speculation and the Virgin Mary arose as the mediator between the world and Christ who had become as unapproachable as God Himself.

With the Reformation, however, the affirmation of one mediator appears again in Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin. In the Formula of Concord, and in the Son of Man Christology of Calvin there

is in evidence a great stress upon the Person of Christ. He had begun again to live and maintain a vital relationship to the lives of men in their approach to God.

When this doctrine found its out-working in the thought systems of such men as Schleiermacher and Ritschl there was heralded a new day in the field of Christology. There appeared a new emphasis upon the self-revelational power of God, and the manner in which Christ stood in vital relationship to this Godhead. God dwelt in Christ in the completeness of Christ's consciousness of His Sonship, and He worked in the world in the realization of the purpose for which He was given this consciousness, the establishment of the Kingdom of God.

The cloak of these men then fell upon men whose experience was tempered by the world in which they lived. A world of people whose minds were characterized by a new view of the sacredness and the essential nature of personality, whose philosophy was taking on a strangely humanistic interest, a world whose idea of the nature of reality had turned from Platonism to personalism, whose people were seeing a new value in the idea of the moral nature, was demanding a new and understandable Christ, one who was none the less meaningful, and infinitely more significant for life than the Logos of God of the first two centuries.

We therefore find Baillie interpreting the Christ as the Fullness of the Love of God. God is Love, and Christ reveals Him

aright when He is for the world the supreme example of this Love. Mecklin would interpret Christ, the Christ of Faith, as purely the product of the imaginative minds of His followers. Sanday applies the facts brought out in relation to the psychology of a person to locate the Divine in Christ in the subliminal area of His consciousness. Lewis maintains that Christ has a significance as both Son of man and Son of God, and he finds His sonship to God resting on the completeness of His humanity. Man is essentially akin to God. This was the great revelation of Christ as conceived by Dr. Lewis. He says that the completely human is the Divine made manifest.

For Dr. Knudson the unity of Christ with God is thought of in terms of the Divine will rather than the Divine nature. Complete consciousness of His unique relation to God, and unquestioning and devoted dependence upon the plan of God for His life were the distinguishing factors in the Life of Jesus. These were the elements in Christ's nature which showed that Divinity resided in Him.

For my own thinking a synthesis of the thought of Dr. Knudson and Dr. Lewis, punctuated by a stronger emphasis upon Ritschl's Kingdom of God concept is most satisfying. We must affirm the primacy of the importance of consciousness of God and dependence upon Him, but more than secondary emphasis must be placed upon His place as Mediator and the validity of the idea that the apex of

humanity is the manifestation of the Divine. It seems to me that this will serve a great place in the program for the amelioration of man's status and that of society. That Christ should have begun a new humanity in the Kingdom of God places beyond doubt the fact that He felt He had something to offer toward society's growth. Thus He gives us theimplications of the Kingdom of God idea, the improvement of society, as the norm by which to judge all value, even that of Himself.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(Unless otherwise indicated,
entire book has been used.)

Andrews, H.T., Bartlett, Vernon, and Edwards, C.Miall, and others, The Lord of Life, LL
New York: The Macmillan Company, 1929.

Augustine, Aurelius, City of God (De Civitate Dei), DCD
(Translated by Marcus Dods),
Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1871(Two Volumes).
(I, 305-15; 521-535)

Augustine, Aurelius, On the Trinity (De Trinitate), DT
(Translated by Arthur West Haddan),
Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1873.
(179-222)

Augustine, Aurelius, The Confessions of St. Augustine CON
(Confessiones), (Translated by E.B. Pusey),
New York: E.P. Dutton and Company, 1910.

Baillie, John, The Place of Jesus Christ in Modern Christianity, PJC
New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1929.

Bell, G.K.A., and Deissmann, D.A., Mysterium Christi, MC
New York: Longman Green and Company, 1929.
(123-192)

Brown, William Adams, Christian Theology in Outline, CTO
New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1921.
(325-350)

Dorner, J.A., The System of Christian Doctrine, SCD
(Translated by A.Cave and J.S. Banks),
Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1880 (Four Volumes).
(I, 412-447; II, 205-230)

Fisher, G.P., The History of Christian Doctrine, HCD
New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1923.
(502-511)

Franks, Robert.S., A History of the Doctrine of the Work of Christ, HDWC
New York: Hodder and Stoughton, (Two Volumes).
(Volume I)

Garvie, A.D., Christian Doctrine of the Godhead, CDG
London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1930.

Gore, Charles, The Incarnation of the Son of God, ISG
New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1891.
(88-122)

Harnack, Adolph, Outlines of the History of Dogma, HDO
(Translated by Edwin Knox Mitchell),
New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1893.

Harnack, Adolph, History of Dogma HD
(Volumes I,II,III,V translated by Neil Buchanan,
Volume IV by E.B. Speirs and James Millan from
the Third German Edition),
London: Williams and Norgate, 1898 (Five Volumes).

Harnack, Adolph, What Is Christianity? WC
(Translated by T.B. Saunders)
New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1901.

Hermann, Wilhelm, Systematic Theology, ST
(Translated by Nathaniel Micklem)
London: G.Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1927.
(139-145)

Knudson, A.C., The Doctrine of God, DG
New York: Abingdon Press, 1930.

Knudson, A.C., The Doctrine of Redemption, DR
New York: Abingdon Press, 1933.

McGiffert, A.C., History of Christian Thought, HCT
New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1932.
(I, 276-291)

Mackintosh, H.R., The Doctrine of the Person of Jesus
Christ, DPJC
New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1915.

Mecklin, J.F., The Survival Value of Christianity, SVC
New York: Harcourt Brace and Company, 1926.
(108-151)

Lewis, Edwin, Jesus Christ and the Human Quest, JCHQ
New York: The Abingdon Press, 1924.

Loofs, F., What Is the Truth about Jesus Christ? WTJC
New York: Chas Scribner's Sons, 1913.

Rashdall, H., The Idea of the Atonement in Christian Theology, IA
New York: The Macmillan Company, 1925.
(435-465)

Renan, Ernest, The Life of Jesus, LJ
(Translated from the French by Chas. Edwin Wilborn), New York: Carleton, 1864.

Ritschl, Albrecht, The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation, JR
(English Translation edited by H.R. Mackintosh and A.B. Macaulay)
Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1900.
(385-472)

Sanday, W., Christologies Ancient and Modern, CAM
New York: Oxford University Press, 1910.

Schleiermacher, Friedrich, The Christian Faith, CF
(English Translation of Second German Edition by H.R. Mackintosh and J.S. Stewart),
Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1928.

Sheldon, H.C., History of Christian Doctrine, HCD
New York: Harper and Brothers, 1895 (Two Volumes).
(II, 134-138; 348-360)

Sheldon, H.C., System of Christian Doctrine, SCD
Boston: Carl H. Heintamann, 1900.
(325-360)

Stevens, G.B., Christian Doctrine of Salvation, CDS
New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1905.
(287-303)

Tixeront, J., History of Dogma, HD
(Translated from Fifth French Edition by H.L.B.),
St. Louis: B. Herder Book Company, 1921,
(Three Volumes), Second Edition.
(Volumes I and II)

REFERENCE BIBLIOGRAPHY

The Ante Nicene Fathers ANF
(Edited by Alexander Roberts and James Donaldson),
American Reprint of Edinburgh Edition,
New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1899 (Four Volumes).
(I, 93-97, 188-270, 309-350; III, 269-350, 503-541;
541-627 Selections: IV, 239-384; 395-669 Selections)

The Holy Bible, American Standard Version,
New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1901.

Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, ERE
(Edited by James Hastings),
New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1928, (Thirteen
Volumes).
(VII, 537-539a)

BOSTON UNIVERSITY
1 1719 02555 7788